THE

LIVES

OF THE

Roman POETS.

CONTAINING

A Critical and Hiſtorical Account of Them and their Writings, with large Quotations of their moſt celebrated Paſſages, as far as was neceſſary to compare and illuſtrate their ſeveral Excellencies, as well as to diſcover wherein they were deficient.

To which is added,

A Chronological Table, fitted to the Years before and after CHRIST, ſhewing the Times when they flouriſhed and publiſhed their Works, and exhibiting the more remarkable Events coincident with them.

Together with

An INTRODUCTION concerning the Origin and Progreſs of POETRY in general; and an ESSAY on Dramatick POETRY in particular.

By *L. CRUSIUS*, late of St. JOHN's College, CAMBRIDGE.

——*Dulces ante omnia Muſæ*
Quarum ſacra fero—— Virg. Georg.

In TWO VOLUMES.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

TO THE

Reverend and Learned

Dr. JOHN NEWCOME,

THE

Lady MARGARET's Profeſſor of Divinity

IN THE

UNIVERSITY of *Cambridge*,

THIS

SECOND VOLUME

OF THE

LIVES of the Roman POETS,

With due Reſpect and Gratitude,

Is humbly inſcribed

By his moſt obliged

And moſt obedient Servant,

LEWIS CRUSIUS.

THE

LIFE

OF

Valerius Flaccus.

WE have very imperfect accounts left us of C. VALERIUS FLACCUS: We find him cotemporary with *Martial*; and *Quintilian* * ſays, he died very young, and left his Poem of the *Argonautic* expedition imperfect. There are many places that claim him, but *Setia*, now *Sezza*, a town of *Campania*, near *Velitre*, ſeems to have the beſt title, and he from thence bears the ſirname SETINUS. *Martial* intimates, that he lived at *Padua*; if not, that he was born there, in the following Epigram, wherein he adviſes his friend to leave Poetry to practiſe at the Bar, as much the more profitable profeſſion. But let us hear the Poet's own words:

O mihi curarum pretium non vile mearum
Flacce, Antenorei ſpes & Alumne laris;
Pierios differ cantuſque choroſque ſororum;
Æs dabit ex iſtis nulla puella tibi.
Quid poſſunt hederæ Bacchi dare? Palladis arbos
Inclinat varias pondere nigra comas.
Præter aquas Helicon, & ſerta, lyraſque Deorum
Nil habet & magnum ſemper inane Sophos.
Quid petis a Phœbo? nummos habet arca Minervæ,
Hæc ſapit, hæc omnes fœnerat una Deos.
Quid tibi cum Cirrha? quid cum Permeſſidos unda?
Romanum propius, divitiuſque forum eſt,

* *Inſt. Orat.* Lib. 10. C. 1.

Illic Æra ſonant, at circum pulpita noſtra,
Et ſteriles cathedras Baſia ſola crepant.
Lib. 1. Ep. 77.

Dear FLACCUS, gentle partner of my care,
Thy country's glory, *Padua* the fair,
The fruitleſs ſong and ſtarving Muſes leave,
Nor *Clio* nor her ſiſters aught can give;
Why court *Apollo*, proud of laurel'd praiſe?
The well fill'd Cheſt is his whom *Pallas* ſways,
Her's are the fruitful Olive's bending boughs,
Whilſt uſeleſs Ivy for your *Bacchus* grows.
Clear waters *Helicon* indeed affords,
The Lyre, and Garland, and fine empty words,
What's *Cirrha*, or *Permeſſian* ſtreams to you,
The *Forum*'s nearer, and is richer too:
There chinks the purſe that ſwells with client's fee,
But where's the man that pays for Poetry?
A cold ſalute, a faint applauſe they give,
On this thin diet muſt we Poets live.

HAVING nothing to ſay of FLACCUS's life, let us look into his Poem. It is addreſſed to the Emperor *Veſpaſian*, and the Poet at the ſame time takes occaſion to compliment *Domitian* upon his Poetry, and *Titus* on his conqueſt of *Judæa*. He has been blamed by the Critics for affecting too great a magnificence at the entrance into his Poem, which they would have like thoſe of *Homer* and *Virgil*, more ſimple and unadorn'd. Here follow the invocation of *Apollo*, and the addreſs to *Veſpaſian*:

Phœbe mone, ſi Cumeæ mihi conſcia vatis
Stat caſtâ cortina domo, ſi laurea digna
Fronte viret. Tuque O pelagi cui major aperti
Fama, Caledonius poſtquam tua carbaſa vexit
Oceanus, Phrygios prius indignatus Iulos,
Eripe me populis & habenti nubila terræ,
Sancte pater, veterumque ſave veneranda canenti
Facta virum, verſam proles tua pandit Idumen,
Namque

Namque poteſt, Solymo nigrantem pulvere fratrem,
Spargentemque faces, & in omni turre furentem.
Lib. 1. Ver. 5.

If conſcious at *Cumæan* Rites I bend,
And at the hallow'd ſervice pure attend;
If undefil'd thy laurel'd wreath I wear;
Phœbus, inſpire my numbers, hear my pray'r.
And thou, whoſe glory from the ocean ſprings,
On which thy fleets ſucceſsful ſpread their wings,
The Northern ocean, that indignant bore
The *Julian* ſhips back to the *Gallic* ſhore;
Deign, mighty Prince, the Poet's fame to raiſe
Above mean cenſure, and protect his lays;
Support the Muſe aſpiring to unfold
Heroic acts in antient ſtory told.
The *Flavian* Bard a nobler theme purſues,
A brother's triumph o'er the vanquiſh'd *Jews*.
The ſmoaking towns of *Solyma* declare
The Hero's valour and their own deſpair.

THE learned world has been divided in their opinion of this Author: Some Commentators have not ſcrupled to exalt him above all the *Latin* Poets, *Virgil* only excepted; whilſt other Critics have undervalued him as much. The Poem we are about to conſider, is an imitation rather than a tranſlation of *Apollonius* the *Greek* Poet, four books of whoſe Poem are yet extant. And this the learned reader will find, if he will be at the pains of making the compariſon; and it has been obſerved, that the *Latin* Poet has ſucceeded beſt in thoſe parts where he had not the *Greek* in view. In a word, he may paſs for no mean writer; and the purity of his ſtile and poetical turn of his expreſſion, has abſolutely ſet him above *S. Italicus*, if not above *Lucan*: As to the conduct of the Poem, he is even their inferior. *Statius* is his ſuperior, both in Poetry and the execution of his Poem, in the *Thebaid*: Neither *Lucan*'s nor *S. Italicus*'s ſubjects would bear the ſeveral alterations, nor admit the many fictitious

ornaments neceſſary to make them a juſt Epic Poem. But the Story which *Flaccus* choſe for his ſubject, being of the greateſt antiquity as well as note, as bordering on the fabulous times, left room for his genius to exert itſelf with advantage; and having *Apollonius*'s work before him, by comparing it with thoſe of *Homer* and *Virgil*, he might have ſeen where it was deficient, and have ſupplied thoſe wants in laying out his own ſubject. But I am apt to believe that Poets ſeldom take any other guide than their own genius, which makes ſo many fail in the invention and diſpoſition of their Poems.

THE hiſtory of the *Argonautic* expedition, when clear'd from fable, ſeems only this. About the year 1268. before CHRIST, *Jaſon* with *Hercules*, *Theſeus*, *Caſtor*, *Pollux*, and ſome other *Greeks*, having got *Argus*, an able ſhipwright for thoſe times, to build them a veſſel of conſiderable burden, that bore the builder's name in honour of his art, undertook an expedition to *Colchos*, in a kind of piracy, which was not counted diſhonourable in thoſe early times, when mankind had not yet learnt the juſt arts of peace and civil ſociety between one nation and another. After many adventures, and having eſcaped great dangers, they ſucceeded in their attempt, and by the directions and aſſiſtance of the treacherous *Medea*, brought away the treaſures they went for; and at the end of four years returned to *Jolchos* a port in *Theſſaly*, from whence they firſt ſet out.

SUCH a ſubject would naturally admit all the ornaments that a good invention was capable of giving it. But indeed the beauty of a well regulated deſign ſeems to have been ſtudied by few either Antients or Moderns. The language of the Gods was what the former chiefly aim'd at; by this they meant the ornaments of ſtile and numbers, for which our Author claims his ſhare of praiſe, and if he has not maintained the ſame ſpirit thro' the whole, we muſt make ſome allowances, ſince he did not live to correct and finiſh it. His admirers think he wanted neither genius nor diligence

diligence to have made it an excellent Poem, had death ſpar'd him: That conſidering the diſadvantage of the *Latin* to the *Greek*, *Apollonius* has been far from ſuffering where FLACCUS has ſeem'd to tranſlate him: That none of the ſpirit has been loſt in the transfuſion; and that he may be placed in the number of thoſe few Authors, whoſe copies have rival'd their originals.

AS to his knowledge, FLACCUS is thought much ſuperior to the *Greek*, who has many geographical errors, and ſome which might argue that he was little acquainted either with hiſtory or philoſophy: Yet this *Apollonius* had the reputation of great learning. He was ſcholar to the Poet *Callimachus*, whom he ſucceeded in the care of the *Ptolomean* Library.

AS this Poem of FLACCUS's is little known to the generality of readers, I ſhall here offer them the outlines of it, by which they will be better able to judge of the deſign and the diſpoſition. But firſt I muſt obſerve, that if *Apollonius* had not treated this ſubject before FLACCUS, he would have paſſed for a writer of much learning and skill in antiquity; whereas now we can hardly queſtion his owing the greateſt part of his knowledge to the *Greek*. But to our sketch of the Poem:

PELIAS, after having dethroned his brother *Æſon*, reigned in *Hæmonia* and *Theſſaly*, but grew troubled in mind at many prodigies, which the Augurs ſaid, portended his deſtruction by *Jaſon*, *Æſon*'s ſon. *Pelias* therefore ſtudied all means to get rid of this object of his Fear: *Greece* was now at peace; *Hercules* had ſubdued all the monſters that infeſted it. *Pelias* therefore reſolves to ſend his nephew upon an expedition to *Colchos*. The pretence of it, according to the Poet's legend, was this: *Athamas* the ſon of *Æolus*, and uncle to *Æſon* and *Pelias*, had *Phrixus* and *Helle* by his firſt wife *Nephele*: She being afterwards turn'd into a cloud, he married *Ino* the daughter of *Cadmus*; who like a true ſtep-mother hating her husband's children, perſuaded the women of the country (*Æolia*) to parch all the corn that had been laid up for ſeed.

The land being ſown with this ſeed, was barren, and a great famine enſued *Ino* ſent ſome perſons, whom ſhe had bribed to her purpoſes, to conſult the Oracle of *Apollo*; who, according to their inſtructions, reported, that the God required that *Phrixus* and *Helle* ſhould be ſacrificed. *Athamas* for a long time refuſed to comply with ſo cruel an order, but at length was forced to ſubmit. Juſt as the children were going to be led to the altar, their own mother *Nephele* deſcending from the ſky, bids them fly, and gives them a ram with a Golden Fleece, that would bear them over the ſea: But *Helle* not ſitting faſt on the ram's back, was drowned in that part of the ſea which was called after her name. *Phrixus* came to *Colchos*, where he ſacrificed the ram in the temple of *Mars*, and not long after (as *Pelias* tells *Jaſon*) was treacherouſly murdered by *Æetes* King of *Colchos* and father of *Mædea*, in the height of a public entertainment. *Jaſon* ſoon perceived that his uncle's aim was his death, more than a deſire of revenge: However, relying on the protection of *Juno* and *Minerva*, whom he devoutly invokes, he undertakes the voyage. The Goddeſſes hear and grant his prayer; and whilſt *Juno* ſpreads the report of this bold adventure thro' the cities of *Greece*, to raiſe the ambition of other noble youths to accompany *Jaſon*; *Minerva* goes to *Argus*, whom ſhe directs to build the famous ſhip that bore his name. Then follows a poetical account of the ſeveral heroes that came to make the voyage with *Jaſon*, who craftily engages *Acaſtus* his uncle's ſon to go along with him. The *Argonauts* ſhip was built of the inſpired and prophetic oak of the *Dodonean* grove ſacred to *Jupiter*. The circumſtances of *Jaſon*'s taking his leave of his parents *Æſon* and *Alcimede*, is very pathetically deſcribed.

Now *Phœbus* begins to be in pain for the fate of the *Colchian* King his ſon, and addreſſes himſelf to *Jupiter* about him. That God's anſwer is fine and full of dignity. *Boreas* deſcrying the *Argonauts* on their voyage, haſtens to inform *Æolus*, whoſe abode is deſcribed, and prevails with him to let out the other winds,

winds, who all join and raiſe a furious ſtorm, which *Neptune* at the intreaty of *Juno* and *Minerva* appeaſes. In the mean time, *Pelias* diſcovering that his ſon was gone with *Jaſon*, enters into a tranſport of rage, and reſolves the death of *Æſon* and *Alcimede*. She performs infernal rites for the ſafety of her ſon *Jaſon*, and at the ſame time devotes *Pelias* to the Furies, whoſe aid ſhe invokes; and then drinking ſome of the blood of the victim with her husband; the guards, whom *Pelias* had ſent to put them to death, find them both expiring: but not content with that, by the tyrant's order they murder their younger ſon before their eyes. Then the Poet deſcribes the ſituation of Hell, in which part there are ſome lines loſt. There is a deſcription left of the two gates, the one leading to *Tartarus*, and the other to *Elyzium*. The ſhades of *Æſon* and *Alcimede* are conveyed through the latter by *Mercury* to the regions of the bleſſed, who comforts them by the way with an account of the puniſhment that *Pelias* is doom'd to ſuffer for all his crimes. Here ends the firſt book; which I have been the longer about, as being obliged to explain ſome circumſtances at large, to make the narration of thoſe that follow clear and intelligible.

In the 2d book, the *Argonauts* are deſcribed ſailing by Mount *Oſſa* and *Pallene*, places famous for the battle of the Gods and Giants: thence they come to *Lemnos*. Here there is a long Epiſode of the *Lemnian* women, who murdered their husbands at their return from the *Thracian* war, in which they had been abſent three years: only *Hypſipile* ſaved her father King *Thoas*'s life, and conveyed him away in the night-time by ſea in a ſmall veſſel. The Poet repreſents this cruel action as a contrivance of *Venus* to be revenged on *Vulcan*, to whom *Lemnos* was ſacred, for having caught her in his net and expoſed her with *Mars*. That Goddeſs goes to *Fame*, and bids her inſpire the *Lemnian* women with a jealous fury againſt their huſbands; ſuggeſting that they had brought home other wives from *Thrace*. Then the Goddeſs being diſ-

guiſed, ſpeaks to the principal women, whom ſhe fills with that belief. The whole Epiſode is well managed, and the incidents finely prepared: But the Poet ſhould not have related it in his own perſon. But to proceed: The *Argonauts* land at *Lemnos*; *Hypſipile* falls in love with *Jaſon*, who anſwers her deſires; and the reſt of the *Argonauts* ſpend ſome time with the *Lemnian* women, 'till the ſtormy ſeaſon is paſt. *Hercules*, who had no paramour among the *Lemnians*, awakens them from this lethargy of love, and bids them make haſte to ſea. They ſail to *Troy*, where *Laomedon* reigned, and for his perjury to *Apollo* and *Neptune* was plagued by a ſea monſter: For to avert a plague that before afflicted the people, the Oracle of *Jupiter* had commanded that a virgin, by lot, ſhould every year be expoſed to the monſter to be devoured, and it was now fallen on the King's daughter. *Hercules* delivers the Princeſs, and kills the monſter; but the ungrateful *Laomedon* propoſed to have murdered his gueſt and benefactor the ſame night. But the *Argonauts* purſued their voyage, and came to *Cyzicum*: which concludes the 2d book.

Cyzicus King of the country, after having kindly entertained the *Argonauts*, informs them that he was at war with the *Pelaſgians*. The *Argonauts* ſet ſail again, but by ſtreſs of weather are forced back in the night-time into the ſame port: ſo that the guards of the country miſtaking them for their enemies, the *Pelaſgians* begin a skirmiſh that proves fatal to both ſides, but chiefly to King *Cyzicus* and his people. Day-light diſcovers the miſtake, and the *Argonauts* celebrate with tears the funeral of the unfortunate King, and perform ſolemn rites by the advice of the Prophet *Mopſus*, to appeaſe the ghoſts of their deceaſed friends and allies. In deſcribing theſe rites and ceremonies, the Poet ſeems to have affected to imitate *Virgil*'s exactneſs, whom he has very often in his eye. From thence the *Argonauts* ſail along the coaſt of *Myſia*, where *Hercules* and *Hylas* land. *Juno* here ſends *Minerva* to prepare the *Colchians* to receive the *Argo-*

nauts

nauts in a friendly manner; *Minerva* goes, though ſhe knows it is but a pretence to get her out of the way. Then *Juno* contrives the loſs of *Hylas*, the favourite companion of *Hercules*: She tells *Dryope* a Wood-Nymph, that a fine opportunity now offered of enjoying that lovely youth, which would make her the envy of all her ſiſter Nymphs: then ſhe raiſes a ſtag, that croſſes the wood juſt before *Hercules* and *Hylas*; the youth eagerly purſues the ſport, whilſt *Hercules* himſelf encourages him to it. At length the ſtag takes the water, of a fountain, where *Hylas* being fatigued drops the chaſe to bathe: Here the Nymph ſteals him away. The *Argonauts*, after ſome ſtay for *Hercules*, who went in ſearch of *Hylas*, are forced to ſail away without him.

THE 4th book opens with *Jupiter*'s compaſſion for his ſon's ſorrows; and after having reproved *Juno*, he pours out a rich dew upon *Hercules*, which compoſes the Heroe to reſt. *Hylas* appears to him in a dream, and comforts him, and promiſes him immortality as the reward of his labours. At the requeſt of *Latona*, *Diana*, and *Apollo*, *Iris* is ſent to prevent *Hercules*'s going to *Troy*, and to bid him make haſte to deliver *Prometheus*, who had been ſo long confined and tormented on mount *Caucaſus* for ſtealing fire from heaven. In the mean time the *Argonauts* come to the *Bebrycian* coaſt, where *Amycus* the ſon of *Neptune* reigned: He was a cruel and inhoſpitable Prince, and being a great boxer, uſed to force every ſtranger that entered his dominions to fight him with the *Ceſtus*, and he had hitherto ſlain all that had engaged him. This the *Argonauts* are informed of by ſome of their company whom they ſent to diſcover the country, who had met with a ſtranger bewailing the loſs of his friend *Otreus*, whom *Amycus* had lately fought with and killed. *Pollux*, as yet but a ſtripling, preſents himſelf to fight the Tyrant, who inſults his youth and beauty, but after ſome reſiſtance is ſlain by the *Argonaut*. The ſhip now enters the *Boſphorus*, upon which the Poet takes occaſion to relate the ſtory of *Io*; who, being

perſecuted by *Juno*, and paſſing over thoſe ſeas, when ſhe was transformed into a cow, had given them the name of *Boſphorus*. The *Argonauts* arrive at the *Thyanean* coaſt, where *Zethes* and *Calais* the ſons of *Boreas* deliver *Phineus* from the perſecution of the Harpies. Thence they ſailed by the *Cyanean* rocks, ſo fatal to all that paſſed near them, but *Minerva* drives off the rocks, and ſaves the ſhip. Thence they proceed to the coaſt of the *Mariandyni*, where King *Lycus* of *Greek* original kindly entertains them, and congratulates them on their victory over *Amycus*, who had ſlain his brother.

THE 5th book begins with a melancholy ſcene of the death of *Idmon* and *Typhys*, two of the *Argonauts*, the latter was their Pilot: The prophetic ſhip names *Erginus* to ſucceed him. As they proceed on their voyage, they paſs under the rock where *Prometheus* was chained, and whom *Hercules* was then delivering: They hear the *Titan*'s cries, and ſoon after ſee the bird, that uſed to prey upon his liver, expiring on the ſhore. At length they arrive at *Colchos*, and ſail up the river *Phaſis*, where they find the monument which *Phrixus* had erected in memory of his ſiſter *Helle*. Here *Jaſon* caſts anchor, and having ſacrificed to them both, implores their aſſiſtance in his undertaking.

THE *Colchian* King is warned by many prodigies to reſtore the Golden Fleece: *Perſes* his brother and all his counſellors had adviſed him to it: but *Æetes* having no regard to the happineſs of his people, obſtinately refuſes, puniſhes ſome of the boldeſt, and even attempts to kill his brother, who had gained the love of the people, and was ſuſpected to aſpire to the crown. He ſaves his life by flight, and returns not long after with a great army, which he had raiſed among the neighbouring nations, againſt *Æetes*, and had already attacked the city, but was repulſed with loſs; and a truce was agreed on for two days between the contending parties to bury their dead, at the time when the *Argonauts* landed. *Juno* and *Pallas*, tho' they foreſee *Æetes*'s treachery, agree that the *Argo-*

nauts

nauts ſhall aſſiſt him againſt *Perſes*, as being the weakeſt ſide.

MEDEA having had a frightful dream that night, went early the next morning to make the proper luſtrations in the river; where ſhe ſees the *Argonauts*, and taking them for enemies, was going to fly back: Her Nurſe aſſures her they are *Greeks*. *Juno* makes *Jaſon* appear with uncommon beauty and comelineſs; and comes up to *Medea*, whom he addreſſes in a very engaging manner, deſiring leave to ſpeak to the King. *Medea* ſends one of her attendants with *Jaſon*, to lead him to the court: They meet the King in the temple of *Apollo*, which the Poet deſcribes. *Jaſon*, in imitation of *Æneas* in *Virgil*, is deſcribed entering the city and temple, covered with a cloud by *Juno*. He diſcovers himſelf, acquaints *Æetes* with his errand, and offers ſome rich preſents to exchange for the Golden Fleece. The Tyrant conceals his rage at this requeſt, and with diſſembled friendſhip promiſes to give it, provided the *Argonauts* aſſiſt him firſt againſt the enemy that laid ſiege to the city.

ÆETES now invites them to an entertainment, where he informs *Jaſon* of the cauſe of the war, and the character of his allies there preſent. Then the Poet deſcribes *Mars* in his progreſs from the northern regions, who is ſurpriſed to ſee the *Argonauts* at *Colchos*, and to hear that *Æetes* had promiſed to deliver them the Golden Fleece, which had been conſecrated to him. The furious God haſtens to complain to *Jupiter* of this wrong done him by *Minerva* and *Juno*; the former anſwers him. *Jupiter* puts an end to their diſpute, by acquainting them with his and *Fate*'s decree, and allows them ſeverally to take what ſide they pleaſed in the war. The book concludes with a deſcription of the entertainment of the Gods, where the Muſes ſing to *Apollo*'s harp: After which the aſſembly breaks up, and all retire to reſt.

THE 6th book begins with *Mars*, who could take no reſt, but reſolves to deſtroy the *Argonauts* and their ſhip. *Perſes* being alarmed at the arrival of the *Greeks*,

deputes ſome perſons to aſſure them of his good intentions towards them, and of *Æetes*'s treacherous temper, and to try to perſuade them to join their forces with his *Scythians* againſt the *Colchian* King: but this was in vain. Here the forces of *Perſes* are deſcribed: A bloody battle enſues, which is related at large: *Æetes* gets the advantage, which is entirely owing to the valour of the *Greeks*.

JUNO, fearing *Æetes*'s baſeneſs, finds no other way to get the Fleece for *Jaſon*, but by the enchantments of *Medea*. To ſecure her, ſhe goes to *Venus*, and deſires the uſe of her girdle to regain *Jupiter*'s love. *Venus* ſoon perceived this was but a pretence; but as ſhe hated the children of the Sun, ſhe readily lends her girdle. Furniſhed with this, *Juno* diſguiſhes her ſelf like *Chalciope*, *Medea*'s ſiſter; and blaming her want of curioſity, carries out *Medea* on the walls of the city, to view the *Greek* heroes fighting for her father: Among the reſt they perceive *Jaſon* ſignalizing his valour. *Juno* never lets *Medea* loſe ſight of him, who pretending ſhe did not know him, asks her counterfeit ſiſter who that prodigy of valour was? *Juno* informs her of his quality and merit: Then bidding her obſerve him farther, the Goddeſs animates the Heroe with unuſual vigour. *Medea* feels a ſtrange paſſion kindle in her, but is not able to reſiſt the force of love. *Juno* now finding her ſufficiently inflamed, leaves her alone; ſhe grows very anxious for the ſucceſs of *Jaſon*'s requeſt to her Father. The battle goes againſt the *Scythians*, of whom the *Greeks* make a great ſlaughter. *Minerva* fearing *Jaſon* ſhould kill *Perſes*, whom *Jupiter* intended to ſet on the throne of *Colchos*, and thereby draw on him the indignation of that God, conveys *Perſes* wrap'd in a cloud, out of the battle to his camp; and *Medea* returns to the palace, never ſatisfied with beholding the *Theſſalian* Heroe: which ends the 6th book.

MEDEA ſpends the night in great anxiety: love and duty ſtruggle and alternately prevail in her breaſt. The next morning the *Argonauts* begin to think of the Golden

den Fleece, for which they had undergone ſo many labours; but before *Jaſon* demanded it, the *Colchian* King in a haughty manner tells him the hard terms by which it was to be obtained; namely, to ſow the field of *Mars* with the ſerpent's teeth, to charm the dragon that guarded the Fleece, and fight the men that would ſpring up from that ſeed. *Jaſon* reſolves to undertake it; *Medea* pities him, but for ſome time ſtruggles with her paſſion. *Juno*, to compleat her purpoſe, prevails with *Venus* to come to *Medea* in the diſguiſe of her aunt *Circe*. By this means the Goddeſs inſinuates her ſelf into the ſecret of *Medea*'s love, whom ſhe prompts to give way to it by her own example, who having left the barren plains of *Cholchos*, was now, by her marriage with *Picus*, become Sovereign of *Latium* in *Italy*. Afterwards ſhe perſuades *Medea* to walk out that night, under pretence of a ſacrifice to *Diana*. She meets *Jaſon* in a grove, to which he went by *Juno*'s direction: He implores her protection and aſſiſtance, which at length ſhe grants him. Then *Medea* performs all the magical ceremonies neceſſary to arm him for the adventure, and gives him the proper inſtructions for his conduct, and then leads him to the field of *Mars*, which he ſows: The armed Men ſpring up, and by her inchantments turn their arms againſt each other, every one miſtaking his fellow for *Jaſon*.

The 8th book begins with *Medea*'s laſt ſtruggle between love, and duty, and remorſe for what ſhe had already done: but Love prevailing, ſhe renews her enchantments, and meets her Heroe, whom *Juno* had made exceeding beautiful, in the place where the dragon guarded the Golden Fleece. Here the two lovers enter into ſolemn engagements of mutual fidelity, and *Medea* agrees to accompany *Jaſon*, whom ſhe now calls her husband, into *Theſſaly*. As they come near the tree, *Jaſon* is terrified by the fire which flaſhed from the dragon's eyes. *Medea* having in vain endeavoured to ſooth him to reſt, promiſing to watch the Fleece for him, has recourſe to her ſpells, and charms him into a dead ſleep: then bids *Jaſon* climb up by the dragon's back into

into the tree where the Fleece hung; which he takes down, and haſtens away in triumph with that and *Medea* to the ſhip. The *Argonauts* ſet ſail. *Æetes* is ſoon informed of his daughter's treachery and flight. *Abſyrtus* her brother, and *Styrus* a *Scythian* Prince, *Medea*'s deſtined husband, fit out ſome ſhips, and purſue them, and overtake the *Argonauts* feaſting aſhore at the mouth of the *Danube*, and ſolemnizing the Nuptials of *Jaſon* and *Medea*. *Juno*, to deliver them from the preſent danger, raiſes a ſtorm, which ſeparates them; but *Styrus*, who being blinded by his love for *Medea* ſtrove to bear up againſt the ſtorm, is caſt away. When it was over, the *Argonauts* ſoon deſcried the enemy again: then they begin to murmur againſt *Medea*, and exhort *Jaſon* not to expoſe them all to ruin for her ſake. She ſoon diſcovers their deſign, and ſpeaks of it to *Jaſon* with indignation: juſt where *Jaſon* is deſcribed as ſtudying ſome dubious anſwer to gain time, as being yet irreſolute what to do, the Poem abruptly breaks off.

IT is very probable the Author lived to go no farther. *Baptiſta Pius* an *Italian* has tranſlated the reſt from *Apollonius*, and added it to FLACCUS's Poem; to which we muſt refer the Reader for the reſt of the ſtory, ſince it is proper this ſketch ſhould end where FLACCUS breaks off, as being only intended to ſhew his manner of treating this ſubject.

I think we may allow him to have been maſter of ſome invention, and much ſpirit. Though his Poem is thus hiſtorically conducted, it is fuller of machinery than the *Æneis*. An affectation of the marvellous runs through the whole. The manners are not ill expreſſed, and the characters well diſtinguiſhed and various: They are not very moral indeed, nor polite; neither of which could be expected of ſo barbarous an age as that in which this event happened, which may partly excuſe the fabulous air and turn of the whole narration. All time before this in the *Greek* Hiſtory, is confeſſedly fabulous and obſcure; and this *Epocha* bordering upon thoſe dark ages, has partaken of their

fate

fate ſo far, that the very Hiſtorians in treating of it, have inſerted many ſeeming fables in their accounts.

But in order to diſcover *Flaccus*'s genius with reſpect to the ſtile and ſentiments, we muſt quote ſome paſſages of his Poem; and where he has *Virgil* in view, it may not be improper to ſubjoin thoſe paſſages of the *Æneid*, which he has imitated. We ſhall find his ſtile in the main noble and poetical, though not equally kept up, his deſcriptions ſtrong and full, and his compariſons apt and lively. The firſt that offers is an elegant deſcription of the *Æolian* Iſlands, the ſuppoſed ſeat of the Winds.

Æquore Trinacrio refugique a parte Pelori
Stat rupes horrenda fretis, quot in æthera ſurgit
Molibus, infernas totidem demiſſa ſub undas:
Nec ſcopulos aut antra minor juxta altera tellus
Cernitur; illam Achamas habitat, nuduſque Pyragmon.
Has Nimbi, ventique domos, & naufraga ſervat
Tempeſtas: hinc in terras latumque profundum
Eſt iter: hinc olim ſoliti miſcere polumque
Infelixque fretum (neque enim tunc Æolus illis
Rector erat) Libyâ cum rumperet advena Calpen
Oceanus, cum flens Siculos OEnotria fines
Perderet, & mediis intrarent montibus undæ,
Intonuit donec pavidis ex æthere Ventis
Omnipotens, regemque dedit, quem juſſa vereri
Sæva cohors in monte; chalybs iterataque muris
Saxa domant Euros. Cum jam prohibere frementum
Ora nequit Rex, tunc aditus & clauſtra refringit.
Ipſe volens, placatque data fera murmura porta.

Encompaſs'd by *Sicilian* Seas, appears
A riſing rock, that to *Pelorus* bears;
Its bottom deep beneath the waves extends
Far as its ſummit to the clouds aſcends:
Hard by another rears its craggy brow,
Whoſe cliffs and caves can equal horrors ſhow.
In that *Pyracmon* feeds Vulcanian fires,
To this the ſtormy train of Winds retires:

Hence to the earth, and o'er the ſpreading deep
They wing their way, and with deſtruction ſweep;
Hence unreſtrain'd of old their fury wrought,
And to the skies the ſwelling billows brought.
No *Æolus* as yet controul'd their Pow'r:
Then *Calpe* rent from *Libya*'s parting ſhore,
Admitted the *Atlantic*'s pouring tide;
Then firſt *Trinacria* from *Italia*'s ſide
Dividing, felt the laſhing ſurges bound,
'Till *Jove* impatient hurl'd his thunder round:
The Winds retir'd aſtoniſh'd, and confin'd
Their King obey'd, whom he in wrath aſſign'd
Within their iron priſon cloſely pent,
Where adamantine rocks reſtrain their vent.
When loud for liberty his ſubjects call,
The God himſelf unbars the gloomy Hall;
Then ceaſe their murmurs, and they iſſue forth
Tempeſts and ſtormy winds, led by the furious North. Lib. 1. Ver. 579.

Virgil had occaſion, one would have thought, to have dwelt as largely on ſuch a deſcription of the Winds; and yet we find him thus contracting many great images into the compaſs of a few lines.

Nimborum in patriam, loca fœta furentibus Auſtris
Æoliam venit: hic vaſto rex Æolus antro
Luctantes ventos, tempeſtateſque ſonoras
Imperio premit, ac vinclis & carcere frænat.
Illi indignantes magno cum murmure, montis
Circum clauſtra fremunt: Celſa ſedet Æolus arce
Sceptra tenens, mollitque animos & temperat iras.
Ni faciat, maria ac terras cœlumque profundum
Quippe ferant rapidi ſecum, verrantque per auras:
Sed pater hoc metuens ſpeluncis abdidit atris
Omnipotens; molemque & montes inſuper altos
Impoſuit, regemque dedit, qui fœdere certo
Et premere, & laxas ſciret dare juſſus habenas.
Lib. 1. Ver. 55.

The

The reſtleſs regions of the ſtorms ſhe ſought;
Where in a ſpacious cave of living ſtone
The Tyrant *Æolus* from his airy throne,
With pow'r imperial curbs the ſtruggling Winds,
And ſounding Tempeſts in dark priſons binds:
This way and that th' impatient captives tend,
And preſſing for releaſe, the mountains rend:
High in his Hall th' undaunted Monarch ſtands,
And ſhakes his ſcepter, and their rage commands:
Which did he not, their unreſiſted ſway
Would ſweep the world before them in their way;
Earth, Air and Seas through empty ſpace would roll,
And Heav'n would fly before the driving ſoul.
In fear of this, the Father of the Gods
Confin'd their fury to thoſe dark abodes,
And lock'd 'em ſafe within, oppreſs'd with mountain loads;
Impos'd a King, with arbitrary ſway,
To loſe their fetters, or their force allay.

Dryden.

Alcimede's Imprecation againſt *Pelias* is very ſolemn, and a fine imitation of *Dido*'s againſt *Æneas* in *Virgil*. *Alcimede* ſpeaks ſome lines before thoſe here quoted; but as they ſeem rather introductory to, than a part of the Imprecation it ſelf, I choſe to omit them:

——*Tu Nuncia ſontum*
Virgo Jovi, terras oculis quæ proſpicis æquis;
Ultriceſque Deæ: Faſque, & grandæva ſororum
Pœna parens, meritis Regis ſuccedite tectis,
Et ſævas inferte faces. Sacer effera raptet
Corda pavor; nec ſola mei gravia affore nati
Arma ratemque putet: claſſeſque & Pontica ſigna
Atque indignatos temerato littore reges
Mente agitet, ſemperque metu deducat ad undas
Arma ciens; mors ſera viam, tentataque claudat
Effugia, & noſtras nequeat præcurrere diras.
Sed reduces jam jamque viros, auroque coruſcum
Cernat iter: ſtabo inſultans, & ovantia contra
Ora, manuſque feram: Tum vobis ſiquid inauſum
Arcanumque

Arcanumque nefas, & adhuc incognita Leti
Sors ſupereſt, date fallaci pudibunda ſenectæ
Exitia, indecoreſque obitus, non marte, nec armis,
Aut nati precor ille mei dignatus ut unquam
Enſe cadat, quem fida manus, quem cura ſuorum
Diripiat, laceretque ſenem: nec membra ſepulchro
Contegat: hæc noſter de rege piacula ſanguis
Sumat, & heu cunctæ quas miſit in æquora Gentes.
Lib. 1. Ver. 794.

Juſt Goddeſs, whoſe impartial eye beholds,
Whoſe care, to *Jove* all human crimes unfolds;
Ye Deities of vengeance, and thou firſt
Parent of Furies, Puniſhment accurſt,
On *Pelias*, arm'd with all your brands, attend,
And thro' his ſoul your quickeſt terrors ſend:
Nor let his mind diſtemper'd only fear
My Son's approach, or think his *Argo* near:
Th' aſſembled pow'rs of *Colchis* let him dread,
And *Pontic* Hoſts ſtand threatening o'er his head.
His reſt let war's alarms ſucceſſive break,
Let death refuſe that eaſe his torments ſeek.
Theſe Curſes may he not eſcape, but ſee
Jaſon return with Golden Victory.
Then will I ſtand inſulting by his ſide,
His pain my joy, his miſery my pride:
If any plagues untry'd remain in ſtore,
On his curſt head the plenteous anguiſh pour.
May want and infamy bring on his fate,
And Death moſt horrid his old age await,
Let him not fall by arms in Honour's field,
Or by my Son, but to black treaſon yield
His hated life, his corps deny'd a grave:
Such vengeance may our race on *Pelias* have.

Dido's Imprecation in the 4th book of the *Æneis* runs thus:

Sol, qui terrarum flammis opera omnia luſtras,
Tuque harum interpres curarum, & conſcia Juno;
Nocturniſque Hecate trivijs ululata per urbes,

Et

Et Diræ ultrices, & Dij morientis Eliſæ;
Accipite hæc, meritumque malis advertite numen,
Et noſtras audite preces: ſi tangere portus
Infandum caput, ac terris adnare neceſſe eſt;
Et, ſi fata Jovis poſcunt, hic terminus hæret.
At bello audacis populi vexatus & armis,
Finibus extorris, complexu avulſus Iuli
Auxilium imploret, videatque indigna ſuorum
Funera: nec, cum ſe ſub leges pacis iniquæ
Tradiderit, regno aut optata luce fruatur.
Sed cadat ante diem, mediaque inhumatus arena.
Hæc precor, hanc vocem extremam cum ſanguine fundo.
Tum vos, O Tyrij, ſtirpem & genus omne futurum,
Exercete odijs, cinerique hæc mittite noſtro
Munera; nullus amor populis, nec fœdera ſunto.
Exoriare aliquis noſtris ex oſſibus ultor
Qui face Dardanios, ferroque ſequare Colonos,
Nunc, olim, quocunque dabunt ſe tempore vires;
Littora littoribus contraria, fluctibus undas
Imprecor, arma armis; pugnent ipſique nepotes.
Ver. 607.

Thou Sun, who view'ſt at once the world below,
Thou *Juno*, guardian of the nuptial vow,
Thou *Hecat*, hearken from thy dark abodes;
Ye furies, fiends, and violated Gods,
All pow'rs invok'd with *Dido*'s dying breath,
Attend her curſes, and avenge her death.
If ſo the *Fates* ordain and *Jove* commands,
Th' ungrateful wretch ſhould find the *Latian* lands;
Yet let a race untam'd and haughty foes
His peaceful entrance with dire Arms oppoſe;
Oppreſs'd with numbers in th' unequal field,
His men diſcourag'd, and himſelf expell'd,
Let him for ſuccour ſue from place to place,
Torn from his ſubjects and his ſon's embrace:
Firſt let him ſee his friends in battle ſlain,
And their untimely fate lament in vain:
And when at length the cruel war ſhall ceaſe,
On hard conditions may he buy his peace.

Nor

Nor let him then enjoy ſupreme command,
But fall untimely by ſome hoſtile hand;
And lie unbury'd on the barren ſand!
Theſe are my pray'rs, and this my dying will,
And you, my *Tyrians*, every curſe fulfil;
Perpetual hate and mortal wars proclaim
Againſt the prince, the people and the name:
Theſe grateful off'rings on my grave beſtow,
Nor league, nor love, the hoſtile nations know.
Now and from hence in every future age,
When rage excites your arms, and ſtrength ſupplies the rage,
Riſe ſome avenger of our *Libyan* blood,
With fire and ſword purſue the perjur'd brood:
Our arms, our ſeas, our ſhores oppos'd to theirs,
And the ſame hate deſcend on all our heirs.

Dryden.

THE deſcription FLACCUS gives of the two gates, one leading to *Tartarus*, the other to *Elyzium*, is very poetical. That ſeat of the bleſſed is likewiſe well deſcribed: both are imitated from the 6th book of the *Æneid*.

Stant geminæ æternum portæ, quarum altera dura
Semper lege patens, populos regeſque receptat.
Aſt aliam tentare nefas & tendere contra;
Rara & ſponte patet, ſi quando pectore Ductor
Vulnera nota gerens galeis præfixa rotiſque
Cui domus, aut ſtudium, mortales pellere curas,
Culta fides, longe metus, atque ignota cupido:
Seu venit in vittis, caſtaque in veſte ſacerdos:
Quos omnes, lenis plantis & lampada quaſſans
Progenies Atlantis agit: lucet via late
Igne Dei, donec ſilvas & amœna piorum
Deveniat, campoſque ubi Sol, totumque per annum
Durat aprica dies, thyaſique chorique virorum,
Carminaque & quorum populis jam nulla cupido.

Lib. 1. Ver. 833.

Two different Gates lead to the realms below,
Kings and their ſubjects undiſtinguiſh'd go

Thro'

Thro' the wide portals of the common Gate:
The other opens not, unleſs by Fate
For ſome brave Shade ordain'd, who greatly dy'd
In Honour's cauſe, to anceſtors ally'd
Of higheſt worth; one ſtudious to appear
A friend to men, devoid of guilt or fear;
Or Prieſt unſtain'd, with holy fillets bound:
Such *Hermes* leads; whoſe waving torch around
Spreads a clear light along the ſacred way;
'Till to the regions of eternal day
They come deſcending, where thro' flow'ry plains
Or ſhady groves they paſs to meet the ſwains,
Bleſt Choir! that ſinging with their wands advance,
And greeting bid him join the chearful dance,
And all the joys that in thoſe realms abound;
But among mortals here can ne'er be found.

The two Ways are thus ſpoken of by the Sybil in *Virgil:*

Hic locus eſt, partes ubi ſe via findit in ambas:
Dextra, quæ Ditis magni ſub mœnia tendit,
Hâc iter Elyzium nobis; at læva malorum
Exercet pœnas, & ad impia tartara mittit.
Lib. 6. Ver. 638.

'Tis here in different Paths the way divides:
The Right to *Pluto*'s golden Palace guides:
The Left to that unhappy Region tends,
Which to the depth of *Tartarus* deſcends
The ſeat of night profound, and puniſh'd fiends.

Elyzium he deſcribes as follows, with the Pleaſures of the Place:

Devenêre locos lætos, & amœna vireta
Fortunatorum nemorum, ſedeſque beatas.
Largior hic campos Æthæer, & lumine veſtit
Purpureo: ſolemque ſuum, ſua ſidera norunt.
Pars in gramineis exercent membra palæſtris;
Contendunt ludo, & fulva luctantur arena:
Pars pedibus plaudunt choreas, & carmina dicunt.
Lib. 6. Ver. 638.

Theſe

Theſe holy Rites perform'd, they took their way
Where long extended plains of pleaſure lay;
The verdant fields with thoſe of Heav'n may vie,
With Æther veſted and a purple Sky:
The bliſsful ſeats of happy ſouls below,
Stars of their own, and their own ſuns they know.
Their airy limbs in ſports they exerciſe,
And on the green contend the wreſtler's prize;
Some in heroic verſe divinely ſing,
Others in artful meaſures lead the ring.

THE Inhabitants are thus deſcribed by the ſame great Genius:

Hic manus, ob Patriam pugnando vulnera paſſi;
Quique ſacerdotes caſti dum vita manebat,
Quique pij vates, & Phœbo digna locuti,
Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes,
Quique ſui memores alios fecêre merendo:
Omnibus his nivea cinguntur tempora Vitta.
Ver. 660.

Here Patriots live, who for their country's good
In fighting fields were prodigal of blood:
Prieſts of unblemiſh'd lives here make abode;
And Poets worthy their inſpiring God;
And ſearching Wits of more mechanic parts,
Who grac'd their age with new invented arts:
Thoſe who to worth their bounty did extend,
And thoſe who knew that bounty to commend:
The heads of theſe with holy fillets bound,
And all their temples were with garlands crown'd.
Dryden.

FLACCUS in the beginning of the ſecond book gives a deſcription of *Fame*, which languiſhes when compared with the fine original in the 4th book of the *Æneis*. *Juno* is repreſented as deſcending to *Fame*.

——Dea ſe piceo per ſudum turbida nimbo
Præcipitat, Famamque vagam veſtigat in umbra:
Quam

Quam pater omnipotens digna atque indigna canentem,
Spargentemque metus, placidis regionibus arcet
Ætheris; illa fremens habitat ſub nubibus imis.
Non Erebi, non Diva poli, terraſque fatigat
Qua datur. Audentem primi ſpernuntque foventque;
Mox omnes agit, & motis quatit oppida linguis.
Talem Diva ſibi ſceleriſque dolique miniſtram
Quærit avens. Videt illa prior, jamque advolat ultro
Impatiens; jamque ora parat, jam ſuſcitat aures.
Lib. 2. Ver. 115.

Wrap'd in a pitchy cloud the Goddeſs came
To the dark manſions of uncertain *Fame:*
In Heav'n ſhe dwelt, 'till *Jove* obſerv'd her tongue
In ev'ry tale confounding right and wrong,
And ſpreading cauſeleſs fears, he bid her dwell
On Earth alone, excluded Heav'n and Hell.
Enrag'd at this diſgrace, all Earth ſhe fills
With wild reports portending various ills.
Contempt diſcourages her firſt eſſays,
Repeated trials turn that ſcorn to praiſe,
Increaſing thus ſhe drives the croud along,
'Till mighty States o'erturn'd fall by her murd'ring tongue.
Such aid ſought *Juno* to her crafty aim
Of miſchief ſtudious, fit employ for *Fame;*
Who ſpy'd the Goddeſs, and advancing play'd
Her wings impatient; then attentive ſtay'd
With tongue prepar'd the rumour wide to ſpread.

See with what ſuperior skill *Virgil* has painted the ſame imaginary being:

Fama, malum, quâ non aliud velocius ullum
Mobilitate viget, viresque acquirit eundo:
Parva metu primo, mox ſeſe attollit in auras,
Ingrediturque ſolo, & caput inter nubila condit.
Illam terra parens, irâ irritata Deorum,
Extremam, ut perhibent, Cæo, Enceladoque ſororem
Progenuit, pedibus celerem, & pernicibus alis,
Monſtrum horrendum, ingens, cui quot ſunt corpore plumæ

Tot

Tot vigiles oculi ſubter, mirabile dictu,
Tot linguæ, totidem ora ſonant, tot ſubrigit aures.
Nocte volat, cæli medio, terræque per umbram
Stridens, nec dulci declinat lumina ſomno.
Luce ſedet cuſtos, aut ſummi culmine tecti,
Turribus aut altis, & magnas territat urbes;
Tam ficti pravique tenax, quam nuncia veri.

Lib. 4. Ver. 174.

Fame, the great ill, from ſmall beginning grows;
Swift from the firſt; and every moment brings
New vigour to her flights, new pinions to her wings.
Soon grows the pigmy to gygantic ſize,
Her feet on earth, her forehead in the skies:
Enrag'd againſt the Gods, revengeful Earth
Produc'd her, laſt of the *Titanean* birth.
Swift in her walk, more ſwift her winged haſte;
A monſtrous phantom, horrible and vaſt:
As many plumes, as raiſe her lofty flight,
So many peircing Eyes enlarge her ſight;
Millions of opening mouths to *Fame* belong,
And ev'ry mouth is furniſh'd with a tongue;
And round with liſt'ning ears the flying plague is hung.
She fills the peaceful univerſe with cries;
No ſlumbers ever cloſe her wakeful eyes.
By day from lofty tow'rs her head ſhe ſhews,
And ſpreads through trembling crowds diſaſt'rous news:
With Court Informers haunts, and Royal Spies;
Things done relates, not done ſhe feigns, and mingles truth with lies.
Talk is her buſineſs; and her chief delight
To tell of prodigies, and cauſe affright.

Dryden.

In the ſame book, the deſcription of *Hypſipile*'s growing love for *Jaſon*, is formed upon the model of *Dido*'s for *Æneas*.

Præcipueque ductis caſus mirata requirit
Hypſipile, quæ fata trahant, quæ regis agat vis:

Aut unde Hæmoniæ molem ratis, unius hæret
Alloquio, & blandos paulatim colligit ignes,
Jam non dura thoris, Veneri nec iniqua reverſæ.
Lib. 2. Ver. 351.

But *Jaſon*'s fortunes moſt the Queen admires,
Which way his courſe, what King his foe inquires;
Their ſhip what art contriv'd, would gladly hear
The Heroe tell, whoſe converſe grows her care.
Love's ſubtle poiſon ſteals into her breaſt:
By that prevailing paſſion now poſſeſt,
She does no more the nuptial vow deteſt.

Nec non & vario noctem ſermone trahebat
Infelix Dido, longumque bibebat Amorem;
Multa ſuper Priamo rogitans, ſuper Hectore multa.
Æneid. Lib. 1. Ver. 752.

Th' unhappy Queen with talk prolong'd the night,
And drank large draughts of love with vaſt delight:
Of *Priam* much enquir'd, of *Hector* more. *Dryden.*

In the ſame book *Jaſon* called away from his Love by the reproaches of *Hercules*, is finely compared to a Horſe rous'd to battle by the ſound of the trumpet.

Haud ſecus Æſonides monitis accenſus amaris
Quam Bellator equus longa quem frigida pace
Terra juvat brevis, in lævos piger angitur orbes;
Fræna tamen Dominumque velit, ſi martius aures
Clamor & obliti rurſus fragor impleat Æris.
Lib. 2. Ver. 385.

The ſharp reproof his ſinking courage rais'd,
Like as the warrior horſe unnerv'd by eaſe
Seeks the ſoft path, and ſnuffs the cooling breeze;
Avoids the courſe, and fears the checking rein:
If wars alarm once more diſturb the plain,
Soon as he hears the martial trumpet ſound,
Loud for his rider neighs, and ſpurns the ground.

In the 3d book the Prophet *Mopſus* explains to the *Argonauts* the doctrines of the ſoul's immortality and

 percep-

perception after death, agreeably to the *Pythagorean* Philoſophy.

——— *Non ſi mortalia membra*
Sortituſque breves, & parvi tempora fati
Perpetimur, ſocius ſuperi quondam ignis Olympi;
Fas ideo miſcere neces, ferroque morantes
Exigere hinc animas, redituraque ſemina Cælo.
Quippe nec in ventos, nec in ultima ſolvimur oſſa.
Ira manet, duratque dolor: cum deinde tremendi
Ad ſolium venere Jovis, queſtuque nefandum
Edocuere necem. patet illis janua leti,
Atque iterum remeare licet: comes una ſororum
Additur, & pariter terras atque æquora luſtrant.
Quiſque ſuos ſontes inimicaque pectora pœnis
Implicat, & varia meritos formidine pulſant,
Lib. 3. Ver. 378.

Tho' this frail body yielding ſoon decays,
And a ſhort period terminates our days,
And ſouls immortal are to Heav'n ally'd;
Yet may we not with murd'ring hand divide
Souls from their Bodies; for the Souls aſpire
To join their parent, pure æthereal fire.
They neither periſh, nor diſperſe in Air;
But mindful of their wrongs, to *Jove* they bear
Their juſt complaint, at whoſe tremendous throne
Their death injurious, they aloud bemoan.
His leave earth to reviſit they obtain,
The furies horrid ſiſters join the train,
There range about each guilty foe to find,
And fill with terrors his diſtracted mind.

In the 4th book, *Hylas*, after he had been ſtollen away from *Hercules*, appears to him in a dream, and after having ſatisfied him of his preſent condition, and encouraged him to continue his Labours, the fruits of which he ſhould ſoon reap in a glorious immortality, diſappears. The following compariſon is finely introduced to illuſtrate the Heroe's behaviour on this occaſion.

Talibus

Talibus orantem dictis, viſuque fruentem
Ille ultro petit, & vacuis amplexibus inſtat,
Languentiſque movet fruſtra conamina dextræ;
Corpus hebet ſomno refugaque eluditur umbra
Tum lachrymis tum voce ſequi, tum rumpere queſtus,
Dum ſopor & vano ſpes mœſta reſolvitur actu:
Fluctus ab undiſoni ceu forte crepidine ſaxi
Cum rapit Alcyonis miſeræ fœtumque laremque
It ſuper ægra parens, queriturque, tumentibus undis,
Certa ſequi quocunque ferant; audetque pavetque,
Icta fatiſcit aquis donec domus, hauſtaque fluctu eſt.
Illa dolens vocem dedit & ſe ſuſtulit alis.

Lib. 4. Ver. 38.

The ſhade thus ſpeaking ſeem'd with joy to view
The Heroe, who with eager tranſport flew
To his embrace: his arms he ſtretch'd in vain
To claſp the phantom, that ſtill mock'd his pain:
By ſleep o'erpower'd, the languid motion falls,
Hylas, with tears and ſoft complaints he calls.
At length the workings of his troubled breaſt
Join'd to thoſe efforts, interrupt his reſt.
So when the daſhings of the cruel deep
Down from the rock the Halcyon's neſtlings ſweep.
Th' afflicted mother follows o'er the flood,
Now fearleſs, trembling now, her hapleſs brood;
'Till the frail neſt admits the fatal wave,
It ſinks; ſhe leaves, lamenting, what ſhe cannot ſave.

At the feaſt of the *Argonauts*, after *Pollux* had ſlain *Amycus*, *Orpheus* ſings the fable of *Io*. There are ſome circumſtances in Flaccus, which *Ovid* had not touch'd upon: Such is the following. As *Io* was coming for refuge into *Ægypt*, *Juno* ſent *Tyſiphone* to keep her from entering that country; but the River *Nile* ſwelling his ſtream overwhelms the *Fury*, and delivers *Io* from her perſecution. This is nobly expreſſed by the Poet.

—*Erebi virgo ditem volat æthere Memphim*
Præripere, & Phariâ venientem pellere terrâ
Contra Nilus adeſt, & toto gurgite torrens

Tyſiphonen agit, atque imis illidit arenis;
Ditis opem & ſævi clamantem numina Regni.
Lib. 4. Ver. 407.

Swift flew the Fiend to reach the *Memphian* ſtrand,
Where *Io* ſhe forbids the *Pharian* land.
The friendly *Nile*, now mov'd with pity, ſtrove
In *Io*'s cauſe, with tide impetuous drove
The Fury down, and plung'd her in the deep;
Then daſh'd the monſter on the ſandy ſweep,
In vain Hell's pow'rs invoking to her aid.

THE deſcription of the Harpies is happily imitated from *Virgil*. *Phineus*, whom they were ſent to torment for his having diſcover'd the ſecrets of *Jupiter*, thus deſcribes them to the *Argonauts*.

——*Harpyæ ſemper mea pabula ſervant,*
Fallere quas nunquam miſero locus; ilicet omnes
Deveniunt, niger intorto ceu turbine nimbus,
Jamque alis procul & ſonitu mihi noto Celæno:
Diripiunt, verruntque dapes, fædataque turbant
Pocula: ſævit odor, ſurgitque miſerrima pugna.
Parque mihi monſtriſque fames. Sprevere quod omnes
Polluerintque manu, quodque unguibus excidit atris
Has mihi fert in luce moras. Lib. 4. Ver. 450.

My daily food the Harpies watching ſpy,
No place, no art conceals it from their eye;
Swift as the whirlwind unexpected down
The monſters pour, and ſeize it as their own;
Firſt dire *Celæno* flaps her ſooty wings,
O'erturns the table, cups and diſhes flings
All on a heap confus'd, then taints the air
With ſtench obſcene, and kindles horrid war.
Our hunger ſeems alike, yet none I taſte
But what their filthy talons drop thro' haſte.
Such ſcraps a wretched life with pain ſupport.

Virgil has thus deſcribed them and their dwelling:

——*Strophades Græjo ſtant nomine dictæ*
Inſulæ in Ionio magno: quas dira Celæno,
Harpyiæque

Harpyiæque colunt aliæ: Phineia poſtquam
Clauſa domus, menſaſque metu liquêre priores.
Triſtius haud illis monſtrum, nec ſævior ulla
Peſtis, & ira Deûm Stygiis ſeſe extulit undis.
Virginei volucrum vultus, fœdiſſima ventris
Proluvies, uncæque manus, & pallida ſemper
Ora fame.—— Æneid. Lib. 3. Ver. 210.

Thoſe Iſles are compaſs'd by the *Ionian* main,
The dire abode where the foul Harpies reign:
Forc'd by the winged warriors to repair
To their old homes, and leave their coſtly fare.
Monſters more fierce offended Heav'n ne'er ſent
From Hell's abyſs for human puniſhment.
With virgin faces, but with wombs obſcene,
Foul paunches, and with ordure ſtill unclean;
With claws for hands, and looks for ever lean.
Dryden.

THEIR coming to diſturb the *Trojans* and devour their meat, is as follows in the ſame book.

——Subitæ horrifico lapſu de montibus adſunt
Harpyiæ, & magnis quatiunt clangoribus alas,
Diripiuntque dapes, contactuque omnia fœdant
Immundo, tum vox tetrum dira inter odorem.
Lib. 4. Ver. 225.

When from the mountain tops, with hideous cry
And clatt'ring wings, the hungry Harpies fly;
They ſnatch the meat, defiling all they find,
And parting, leave a loathſome ſtench behind.
Dryden.

AND as *Helenus* in *Virgil* directs *Æneas* in his voyage by Prophecy, ſo here *Phineus* who was a Prophet, inſtructs the *Argonauts* in their courſe in gratitude to the ſons of *Boreas*, who had delivered him from the Harpies.

The 5th and 6th books have not many paſſages that deſerve to be diſtinguiſhed from the reſt; the ſpeeches of the Gods, which are very frequent in this Poem and particularly in theſe books, cannot ſeem very en-

tertaining to us, who can never be brought to reconcile the tumultuous paſſions of weak Men to the character of Divinity. But we cannot blame FLACCUS for a fault chargeable on the Heathen Theology that could ſuppoſe ſuch Abſurdities, to call it by no worſe a name.

As the antient Heroes were ſuppoſed to be deſcended from ſome God, not one of them can die, but ſome Deity muſt lament his death; and even *Jupiter* is afraid to ſave one of his deſcendants in the battle, leſt the other Gods, who had already complained of the ſeverity of his decrees, ſhould murmur more at his partiality. It was *Colaxes* a *Scythian* Prince, for whom *Jupiter* is repreſented thus concerned; and whoſe bravery and ſucceſs, 'till he meets *Jaſon* by whom he is deſtined to be ſlain, is very elegantly compared to a torrent that carries all before it, 'till it daſhes with a precipitate fall down the ſide of a mountain, and turns into a river.

Hei mihi! ſi duræ natum ſubducere ſorti
Molior, atque meis auſim confidere Regnis,
Frater adhuc Amyci mœret nece, cunctaque Divûm
Turba fremunt, quorum nati cecidere cadentque.
Quin habeat ſua quemque dies, cunctiſque negabo
Quæ mihi ſupremos miſero ſic fatus honores
Congerit, atque animis morituram ingentibus implet.
Ille volat campis, immenſaque funera miſcet
Per cuneos, velut hyberno proruptus ab arcu
Imber agens ſcopulos, nemorumque operumque ruinas.
Donec ab ingenti bacchatus vertice montis
Frangitur, inque novum paullatim deficit amnem.
Lib. 6. Ver. 624.

Should I defer my ſon's impending fate,
And claim the pow'r of my almighty ſtate,
Full many a valiant ghoſt reluctant dies,
And all the Gods with clamour rend the skies,
Whoſe race divine is here profuſely ſlain,
And more ſhall yet lie bleeding on the plain.

But

But 'tis decreed, let Man his period have,
None ſhall defend whom *Jove* denies to ſave.
This ſaid, he rais'd his ſon's collected fame,
And o'er his breaſt diffus'd a martial flame,
With full renown to grace his parting breath,
And urge him forward to a glorious death.
Fierce thro' the ranks the ardent warriour goes,
And rages wide amidſt his ſlaughter'd foes.
Thus from the Rainbow with impetuous pow'r
Burſts the wild fury of ſome wint'ry ſhow'r;
With waſteful noiſe deſcends the ſweeping flood,
Drives the huge rocks, and tears the bending wood;
'Till ruſhing down ſome craggy mountain's ſide,
In a new river foams the rolling tide.

The firſt part of the compariſon alludes to that of *Virgil:*

——*Rapidus montano flumine torrens*
Sternit agros, ſternit ſata læta, boumque labores,
Præcipiteſque trahit ſilvas ——

Æneid. Lib. 2. Ver. 305.

Not with ſo fierce a rage the foaming flood
Roars when he finds his rapid courſe withſtood;
Bears down the dams with unreſiſted ſway,
And ſweeps the Cattel and the Cots away.

Dryden.

In the 7th book, *Juno* diſguis'd like *Chalciope*, *Medea*'s ſiſter, leads her out to the walls to ſee the battle. This is done in imitation of *Homer*, who brings out *Andromache* on the like occaſion. Here Flaccus ſeems very fond of machinery. *Juno* had borrowed the charms and enchanting girdle of *Venus* in order to inſpire *Medea* with love for *Jaſon:* But then not ſatisfied with her own endeavours, ſhe deſires *Venus* to go in perſon to compleat the work and protect *Jaſon*. Why, as in *Virgil*, could not *Juno* at firſt have left it to *Venus*, as the fitteſt perſon to manage a Love Intrigue? To do more is ſuperfluous; but this is not yet enough: *Iris* is charged to be obe-

dient to the orders of *Venus*, who ſends her to *Jaſon* to bid him meet *Medea* at the temple of *Diana*. In the mean time *Juno* ſits on mount *Caucaſus* very ſollicitous about the event, of which the Poet repreſents her as altogether ignorant.

——*Caucaſeis ſpeculatrix Juno reſedit*
Rupibus, attonitos Ææa in mœnia vultus
Speque metuque tenens, & adhuc ignara futuri.
Lib. 7. Ver. 190.

On the high rock of *Caucaſus* the Queen
Of Heav'n with hopes and fear perplex'd was ſeen
Watching, her eyes fixt on th' *Æean* gate,
As yet a ſtranger to the will of Fate.

I ſhall quote no more examples, the aforeſaid may ſuffice to point out ſome of his beauties as well as his faults. It cannot be denied but that a ſpirit of true Poetry reigns thro' the whole, tho' not alike kept up in all the parts; to do which required the judgment of riper years than FLACCUS attained to, who is ſuppoſed not to have much out-lived thirty. If he is not ſo wiſe a man, he ſeems to be a better Poet than *Lucan*, and has more fire than *Silius Italicus*; and his ſtile, tho' not ſo magnificent, is more correct than that of *Statius*. He has profeſſedly imitated *Virgil*, and often does it in a noble and happy manner; and is in general far from deſerving to be ſo much neglected as he has been in compariſon of other Poets no ways ſuperior to him, either for their matter, ſtile, or verſification.

THE

THE

LIFE

OF

Caius Silius Italicus.

CAIUS SILIUS ITALICUS descended of the antient and noble family of the *Silij*, and perhaps the grandson of that *C. Silius*, who was a third time Consul when *Augustus* made his will the year before his death, was born under *Tiberius*; but Authors are not agreed in the place of his nativity, nor is it to be determined from any passage in his works. Some are of opinion that he was born at *Italica* in *Spain*; but had he been a *Spaniard*, it is very unlikely that *Martial* who has often spoke in his praise, should forget to congratulate his country on having given birth to so illustrious a person. Others suppose he was born at *Confinium* in *Italy*, which place according to *Strabo*, had the Name *Italica* given it during the Social War; but *Velleius Paterculus*, who mentions something of a design that was in agitation during that war of changing the town's name, has no where said it was ever done: which is a good argument that this intended change did never take place. Besides, the Grammarian makes this objection to his birth at either of the aforesaid places; that if so, SILIUS must have been sirnam'd ITALICENSIS from *Italica*, and not ITALICUS as we find him constantly called. But let us pass on to something more certain concerning him.

THO' Eloquence began to degenerate even under *Tiberius*, yet SILIUS, who had a great Genius to it,

propoſed the moſt likely means to reſtore it, by a careful imitation of *Cicero*; in which he ſo well ſucceeded, that ſoon after he came to the Bar, he got the character of the beſt Orator of his time. He paſs'd with good applauſe thro' all thoſe great offices, which lead to the Conſulſhip, and became very remarkable by the death of *Nero*. *Pliny* the Younger, to whom we are beholden for moſt that we know of SILIUS, ſays, That it was reported, that he had at firſt laid out for *Nero*'s favour, which he acquired to a great degree, by accuſing ſome great perſons: a vile abuſe of eloquence! but too frequent in thoſe degenerate times. *Pliny* does not altogether free our author from this charge, but adds, that if he did ſo, he made ample amends for it afterwards by a long and uniform courſe of honour and virtue; and tho' he was likewiſe highly in favour with *Vitellius*, he had the art to gain the affection and eſteem of the public, at the ſame time that he maintained himſelf in the good graces of that prince.

UNDER *Veſpaſian* he was ſent Proconſul into *Aſia*, from whence he returned to *Rome* with an unblemiſhed character, his reputation ſtill increaſing with his employments. After having thus ſpent the better part of his life in his country's ſervice, he bid adieu to public affairs, reſolving to conſecrate the remainder to a polite retirement and the *Muſes*.

In order to this purpoſe, beſides other fine ſeats, he purchaſed *Cicero*'s famous Villa at *Tuſculum*, and an eſtate near *Naples*, which is ſaid to have been *Virgil*'s, and in which was his tomb, which *Silius* very frequently viſited; paying ſuch great honour to that excellent Poet's memory, that he annually uſed to celebrate his birth-day with more ſolemnity than his own.

I muſt add one circumſtance that ſeems to make very much for the honour of SILIUS. It appears from *Martial*, that his ſteady conduct had gained him among the *Romans* the Sirname of PERPETUUS, that is *the conſtant*. *Martial* calls him twice by this name, once in a Poem written in his praiſe, *Lib.* 7. *Ep.* 62. and another time, when

when he only mentions him as one of those great men, who disdained not to give his Epigrams a place in their libraries, *Lib.* 6. *Ep.* 64. If the former may be understood as a compliment, the latter must be absurdly used, or prove that it was an appellation given him by the public voice.

Silius lived to see his eldest son Consul, and his other son was almost arrived to the age fit for obtaining it, which his merit already demanded, when an untimely death snatch'd him away from that and all his Father's hopes, *Martial*, Lib. 8. Ep. 66. As *Silius* grew old, he kept very close in his retirement, insomuch that he begged to be excused by reason of his advanced age from going to court to salute *Trajan* on his first coming to the Empire: and a few years after having been for some time afflicted with an incurable ulcer, after all remedies were found ineffectual for his relief, he put a period to his own life by a voluntary abstinence. This was a common practice among the *Romans*, and agreeably to the erroneous principles of the *Stoick* Philosophy, was counted an act of heroic bravery. *Atticus*, tho' an Epicurean in the latter part of his life, is remarkable for dying in the same manner. I cannot better conclude this account of Silius's life, than with *Martial*'s Epigram, wherein he mentions his possessing the two seats above-mentioned, and pays him, who was his Patron, a fine compliment on this occasion.

Silius hæc magni celebrat monumenta Maronis,
Jugera facundi qui Ciceronis habet:
Hæredem Dominumque sui tumulique lariſque
Non alium mallet nec Maro nec Cicero.
Lib. 11. Ep. 49.

Of *Tully*'s seat my Silius is possest,
And his the tomb where *Virgil*'s ashes rest:
Could those great shades return to choose their heir,
The present owner they would both prefer.

It was *Pliny*'s opinion, that Silius owed his success in Poetry more to his application than to any strong genius for it. He was on the decline of life before he

applied himſelf to it; ſo that, had Poetry been his talent, it is thought he would have found and followed the bent of his Genius ſooner. Thus *Ovid*, though a man of great eloquence in pleading, ſoon left the Bar for the Muſes; for Nature is ſeldom at a loſs to find means to exert herſelf agreeably to her bent, and we find the greateſt impediments generally too weak to ſtop the force of inclination:

Naturam expellas furca licet uſque recurret.

We may therefore conclude, that ſome genius added to much leiſure and the greateſt admiration of *Virgil*, were the motives that prevailed with Silius to turn Poet in his old age: At leaſt, ambition and the thirſt of glory in public life got the better of his other inclinations.

However it muſt ſtill be granted, that he had a great and univerſal genius, that rendered him very capable to ſucceed in ſome degree in whatever he applied himſelf to, though he has fallen much ſhort of his great pattern *Virgil* in Poetry.

But *Martial*, agreeably to his friendſhip for Silius, and perhaps in acknowledgment for favours received, has addreſſed him as the glory of the Muſes in his time:

Sili, *Caſtalidum decus ſororum,*
Qui perjuria barbari furoris
Ingenti premis ore, perfidoſque
Faſtus Hannibalis, leveſque Pœnos
Magnis cedere cogis Africanis;
Paulum ſepoſita ſeveritate
Dum blanda vagus alea December
Incertis ſonat hinc & hinc fritillis,
Et ludit rota nequiore talo
Noſtris otia commoda Camœnis.
Nec torva lege fronte, ſed remiſſa
Laſcivis madidos jocis libellos.
Sic forſan tener auſus eſt Catullus
Magno mittere paſſerem Maroni.

Silius,

Silius, the pride of the *Caſtalian* ſpring,
Thine is the praiſe in lofty verſe to ſing
Of *Hannibal* o'erthrown and *Punic* rage,
Whilſt *Scipio*'s triumphs ſwell the ſhining page:
Now ſports and joy return to crown the year,
Thy nobler ſtrains forbear a while, to hear
My jocund Muſe that courts her patron's ſmile,
And would his cares with wanton mirth beguile.
So ſoft *Catullus* durſt his Sparrow ſend,
And hope great *Maro* would attention lend.

It is now time to look into his character more particularly as the author of an Epic Poem in 16 books, containing an account of the ſecond *Punic* war, ſo famous in hiſtory for having decided the empire of the world in favour of the *Romans*. This was an event that deſerved to be made immortal, and who ſo fit as a Poet to beſtow this honour?

Hannibal was the moſt formidable name the *Romans* had ever heard of, he ſpilt more *Roman* blood in three battles, than had been ſhed for ages before. How great then muſt be his merit and glory, who at length maſtered and defeated this dreadful enemy of *Rome*? How bright muſt a *Scipio*'s character appear, how fit to be made the Heroe of a Poem? In a word, there were ſo many great men that diſtinguiſhed themſelves during the courſe of this war by their valour, conduct, and love for their country, that one would think there could not be a finer ſubject than this which Silius has choſen.

But as this war continued many years, it was not poſſible to give it the form proper for a juſt Epic Poem: Nor was the action ſo remote from the age in which Silius wrote, as to admit of all that grandeur of machinery, which a more fabulous ſubject, and one of greater antiquity, ſuch as that of *Eneas*'s ſettlement in *Italy*, could receive. Every circumſtance of the *Punic* war had been ſo fully and exactly related by many celebrated Hiſtorians both *Greeks* and *Romans*, that a great reſtraint was thereby laid on the Poet's fancy;

which was now ſo nearly confined to truth, that it durſt not launch out into thoſe agreeable fictions that give a life to the narration of the *Ilias* and *Æneis*.

It is in this reſpect, that I cannot forbear calling Silius's judgment in queſtion, who is too often tempted to imitate *Virgil*'s machinery, without a proper conſideration of the many objections he was liable to for ſo doing. I think *Lucan*'s conduct in his *Pharſalia* more commendable, for having introduced but few of theſe ornaments into his Poem, which like that of Silius, being altogether hiſtorical, could not with any propriety receive them.

I need not detain the Reader, by giving him a sketch of the Poem: None, but thoſe who are ſtrangers to the *Roman* Hiſtory, need ſuch an illuſtration; and they may be informed of all at large in a tranſlation of our Author by one *Roſs*, which tho' far from doing juſtice to him, has yet kept pretty cloſe to the original. But if the *Latin* wants fire and ſpirit ſometimes, the *Engliſh* is ſo heavy, and the numbers are ſo rude and untunable, that I could not offer them to the *Engliſh* reader in the quotations that are hereafter made out of this Poem.

Therefore I think it ſufficient to make ſuch occaſional obſervations upon Silius's management of his ſubject in ſeveral parts of the Poem, as may ſhew his genius and point out a character to the reader.

After a ſhort propoſition of his ſubject, Silius makes *Juno*, who ſtill kept up her reſentment againſt the *Romans*, as the deſcendants of the *Trojans*, and ſought to raiſe her favourite *Carthaginians* to the ſovereignty of the world, declare, when ſhe ſaw the bad ſucceſs of her people in the firſt *Punic* war, that ſhe ſhould in time have a complete revenge by the terrible overthrows that her darling *Hannibal* would give the *Romans*. This machine is in imitation of *Virgil*'s in the firſt book of the *Æneis*. But *Juno*'s interpoſing ſeems needleſs, the account immediately following, how *Hannibal*'s father ſolemnly adjures him at the altar while he was yet a child to bear everlaſting enmity to

the

the *Romans*, was a ſufficient reaſon for *Hannibal*'s conſtant averſion to them: and what the Augur, upon inſpecting the intrails of the victims, foretells him of his ſucceſs againſt the *Romans*, was encouragement enough for him to undertake a war againſt them. The action of the 1ſt book is alſo very faulty, for including ſo long a ſpace of time; for it begins before the death of *Hannibal*'s father, and ends with the ſiege of *Saguntum*: a ſpace of time equal to that of the reſt of the Poem, to which this firſt ſeems rather an introduction.

If he ſtrains for machines in the 2d book, they act however with more grace; it being no new thing in Poetry to make imaginary characters become actors in an Epic Poem. The *Saguntines* finding themſelves ſtraitly preſſed by *Hannibal* who beſieged them, addreſs their prayers to *Hercules* their tutelar God; who repairs to the Goddeſs *Faith*, and recommends thoſe faithful allies of the *Romans* to her protection. All ſhe can do for them is to deſcend and inſpire their minds with a vigorous reſolution to continue true to their alliance, and defend themſelves to extremity. *Juno*, as ſhe returns from the *Carthaginian* camp, ſees *Faith* in *Saguntum*; at this her anger kindles, ſhe goes to the Fury *Tyſiphone*, whom ſhe immediately commands to exert all her miſchievous power in haſtening the deſtruction of the place, by driving the inhabitants to deſpair. Tho' it was not an uncommon practice among the Antients, for a brave people made deſperate by famine and all the other diſtreſſes attending a long and cloſe ſiege, to periſh altogether as the *Saguntines* did, rather than fall into the cruel hands of a mercileſs and provoked enemy ſuch as *Hannibal* was; yet this is ſuch a poetical way of accounting for the event as cannot diſpleaſe an ingenious reader.

Again, in the 3d book, upon *Hannibal*'s paſſing the *Alps*, *Venus*, who is alarmed with fear for the ſafety of her *Romans*, makes an humble requeſt to her father *Jupiter* in their behalf. This is alſo poetical and well contrived: and as I propoſe to quote ſome

paſſages

paſſages out of Silius's Poem, I cannot begin by a nobler than *Jupiter*'s anſwer to *Venus*, in which the Poet has happily introduced a fine compliment to the *Veſpaſians* Father and Son, and particularly to *Domitian*, who reigned at the time of Silius's writing this book. Hence we may infer, that he retired from public affairs at leaſt ſoon after the death of *Titus Veſpaſian*. But let us hear *Jupiter* ſpeak.

Pelle metus, neu te Tyriæ conanima gentis
Turbarint Cytherea; tenet, longumque tenebit
Tarpeias arces ſanguis tuus: hâc ego Martis
Mole viros ſpectare paro atque expendere Bello.
Gens ferri patiens, ac læta domare labores
Paullatim antiquo patrum deſueſcit honori.
Atque ille haud unquam parcus pro laude cruoris,
Et ſemper famæ ſitiens obſcura ſedendo
Tempora agit, mutum volvens inglorius ævum.
Deſidiæ virtus paullatim victa ſeneſcit:
Magnæ molis opus, multoque labore parandum
Tot populos inter ſoli ſibi poſcere regna.
Jamque tibi eveniet tempus, quo maxima rerum
Nobilior ſit Roma malis; hinc nomina noſtro
Non indigna polo referet labor, hinc tibi Paullus,
Hinc Fabius, gratuſque mihi Marcellus opimis,
Hi tantum parient Latio per vulnera Regnum
Quod luxu & multum mutata mente Nepotes,
Non tamen evertiſſe queant: jamque ipſe creatus
Qui Pœnum revocet Patriæ, Latioque repulſum
Ante ſuæ muros Carthaginis exuat armis.
Hinc, Cytherea, tuis longo regnabitur ævo.
Exin ſe Curibus virtus cæleſtis ad aſtra
Efferet, & ſacris augebit nomen Iülis
Bellatrix gens baccifero nutrita Sabino;
Hinc pater ignotam donabit vincere Thulen,
Inque Caledonios primus trahet agmina lucos.
Compeſcet ripis Rhenum, reget impiger Afros,
Palmiferamque ſenex bello domitabit Idumen,
Nec Stygis ille lacus, viduataque numine regna
Sed ſuperum ſedes, noſtroſque tenebit honores.

Tum

Tum juvenis magno præcellens robore mentis
Excipiet patriam molem, celſuſque feretur
Æquatum imperio tollens caput, hic fera gentis
Bella Paleſtinæ primo delebit in ævo.
At tu tranſcendens, Germanice, facta tuorum,
Jam puer auricomo performidate Batavo,
Nec te terruerint Tarpeij culminis ignes,
Sacrilegas inter flammas ſervabere terris;
Nam te longa manent noſtri conſortia mundi.
Huic laxos arcus olim Gangetica pubes
Submittet, vacuaſque oſtendent Bactra pharetras.
Hic & ab Arctoo currus aget axe, per urbem
Ducet & Eoos, Baccho cedente triumphos.
Idem indignantem tranſmittere Dardana ſigna
Sarmaticis victor compeſcet ſedibus Iſtrum.
Quin & Romuleos ſuperabit voce nepotes
Queis erit eloquio partum decus: huic ſua Muſæ
Sacra ferent; meliorque lyra, cui ſubſtitit Hebrus.
Et venit Rhodope; Phœbo miranda loquetur
Ille etiam, qua priſca, vides, ſtat regia nobis,
Aurea Tarpeia ponet Capitolia rupe,
Et junget noſtro templorum culmina cœlo.
Tunc, O nate Deûm, divoſque dature, beatas
Imperio terras patrio rege, tarda ſenectam
Hoſpitia excipient cœli, ſolioque Quirinus
Concedet, mediumque parens, fraterqae locabunt;
Siderei juxta radiabunt tempora nati. Lib. 3.

Then ſmiling, thus reply'd the Thunderer;
Goddeſs, thy fears for *Trojan Rome* forbear,
The *Tyrians* mighty efforts are in vain,
Thy race eſtabliſh'd ſhall ſecure remain:
This war their ſinking valour will revive
Whom peace has taught inglorioufly to live.
Theſe *Romans* once ſo covetous of Fame,
Shall they decline their anceſtor's great name?
Their youth and vigour thus obſcurely ſpend,
Poiſon'd by eaſe, their days in ſilence end?
Mighty's the task and arduous the toil
Of vanquiſh'd nations to collect the ſpoil,

Con-

Contending pow'rs reduce, extenſive ſway
O'er all aſſume, and make a world obey:
And yet the time's at hand, when you'll confeſs
Rome's tow'ring glory founded on diſtreſs:
Calamity ſhall teach her to aſpire,
As pureſt gold refines in quickeſt fire.
Her ſons great acts new ſtars unto the skies,
New names ſhall add. Hence *Paulus* will ariſe,
Great *Fabius*, and *Marcellus*, glorious made
By nobleſt ſpoils; a ſure foundation laid
Of Empire, by their valour rais'd ſhall ſtand
Unhurt, by Luxury's deſtroying hand.
To *Rome* already is the Heroe born,
Who ſhall th' inſulting *Tyrian*'s pride o'erturn;
Fierce *Hannibal* from *Italy* recall,
And conqu'ring him, make envious *Carthage* fall.
Then ſhall thy race long flouriſh in command,
And ſpread their conqueſts wide thro' ev'ry land:
A race divine from *Cures* then ſhall ſpring
That will new glories to thy *Julius* bring:
The father of the Warrior *Sabine* breed
His hardy legions ſhall to *Thule* lead;
Thro' *Caledonian* woods firſt cut his way,
And teach the *Rhine* and *Afric* to obey.
Palm-bearing *Idumea* laſt ſhall yield
Him trophies, when grown old in Honour's field:
Nor ſhall he to the *Stygian* lake deſcend,
Such worth to heav'n may juſtly recommend.
To him ſucceeds a youth of active mind
Equal to that high pow'r for him deſign'd:
Paleſtine vanquiſh'd ſhall his temples crown.
Domitian next, brave chief of high renown!
A beardleſs youth he'll make the *Belgian* fly,
Tarpeian fires his courage will defy:
Thy ſacred head the lambent flames ſhall ſpare,
I'll make thee mine, as thou mankind thy care:
The ſubject world thy preſence long ſhall bleſs;
Ganges with bow unbent will thee confeſs
His Lord, and *Bactria* quell'd, ſubmiſſive lay
Her empty quivers in her victor's way.

Triumphant

Triumphant from the North thy Car ſhall come,
And from the vanquiſh'd Eaſt bring Laurels home.
To thee great *Bacchus* yields; the *Iſter* bears
Thy troops reluctant to *Sarmatic* wars:
When the *Barbarians* thou ſhalt cloſe confine
To their own limits, and juſt bounds aſſign;
A *Tully*'s eloquence ſhall yield to thine:
Such harmony's admir'd by all the Nine;
And *Orpheus* would his Lyre ſubmiſſive lend,
Orpheus for whom the rivers did ſuſpend
Their courſe, and mountains with attention bend.
See! where the Capitol ſinks in decay,
Sacred of old to me; ſoon comes the day,
By him renew'd its radiant roof ſhall riſe,
And with his golden tow'rs invade the skies.
But thou, O born of Gods, that ſhalt give birth
To future Deities, the happy earth
Rule with a father's power, retiring late
To theſe bright manſions of cæleſtial ſtate:
Quirinus pleas'd for thee will quit his throne
Betwixt thy brother and thy father's crown,
And near thee fix'd ſhall ſhine thy ſtarry ſon.

I ſhall now ſubjoin that fine paſſage in the firſt book of the *Æneis*, which Silius had in his eye when he wrote the foregoing lines, which I think may ſerve as an example of a fine Imitation. *Jupiter* comforts *Venus*, as follows.

Illi ſubridens hominum ſator atque Deorum,
Vultu, quo cœlum, tempeſtateſque ſerenat,
Oſcula libavit natæ; dehinc talia fatur:
Parce metu, Cytherea; manent immota tuorum
Fata tibi: cernes urbem, & promiſſa Lavini
Mœnia, ſublimemque feres ad ſidera cœli
Magnanimum Æneam: neque me ſententia vertit.
Hic (tibi fabor enim, quando hæc te cura remordet,
Longius & volvens fatorum arcana movebo)
Bellum ingens geret Italia, populoſque feroces
Contundet, moreſque viris, & mœnia ponet,
Tertia dum Latio regnantem viderit æſtas,

Ternaque tranſierint Rutulis hyberna ſubactis.
At puer Aſcanius, cui nunc cognomen Iülo
Additur (Ilus erat, dum res ſtetit Ilia regno)
Triginta magnos volvendis menſibus orbes
Imperio explebit, regnumque à ſede Lavini
Transferet, & longam multa vi muniet Albam.
Hic jam ter centum totos regnabitur annos
Gente ſub Hectorea; donec regina ſacerdos,
Marte gravis, geminam partu dabit Ilia prolem.
Inde lupæ fulvo nutritis tegmine lætus
Romulus, excipiet gentem, & mavortia condet
Mœnia, Romanoſque ſuo de nomine dicet.
His ego nec metas rerum, nec tempora pono:
Imperium ſine fine dedi: quin aſpera Juno,
Quæ mare nunc, terraſque metu, cœlumque fatigat,
Conſilia in melius referet, mecúmque fovebit
Romanos rerum Dominos, gentemque togatam.
Sic placitum; veniet luſtris labentibus ætas
Cum domus Aſſaraci Phthiam, claraſque Mycenas
Servitio premet, ac victis dominabitur Argis.
Naſcetur pulchra Trojanus origine Cæſar,
(Imperium Oceano, famam qui terminet aſtris)-
Julius, à magno demiſſum nomen Iülo.
Hunc tu olim cœlo ſpolijs orientis onuſtum
Accipies ſecura; vocabitur hic quoque votis.
Aſpera tùm poſitis miteſcent ſæcula bellis;
Cana fides, & Veſta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus
Jura dabunt: diræ ferro, & compagibus arctis
Claudentur belli portæ. Furor impius intùs
Sæva ſedens ſuper arma, & centum vinctus ahenis
Poſt tergum nodis, fremit horridus ore cruento.

Lib. 1. Ver. 258.

To whom the father of immortal race
Smiling with that ſerene indulgent face
With which he drives the clouds and clears the skies,
Firſt gave a holy kiſs, then thus replies:
Daughter, diſmiſs thy fears; to thy deſire
The fates of thine are fix'd and ſtand entire.
Thou ſhalt behold thy wiſh'd *Lavinian* walls,
And ripe for Heav'n, when Fate *Æneas* calls,

Then

Then ſhalt thou bear him up ſublime to me;
No councils have revers'd my firm decree.
And left new fears diſturb thy happy ſtate,
Know I have ſearch'd the myſtic rolls of Fate:
Thy Son (nor is th' appointed ſeaſon far)
In *Italy* ſhall wage ſucceſsful war.
Shall tame fierce nations in the bloody field,
And ſovereign laws impoſe, and cities build;
'Till after ev'ry foe ſubdued, the Sun
Thrice thro' the Signs his annual race ſhall run:
This is the time prefix'd. *Aſcanius* then,
Now call'd *Iülus*, ſhall begin his reign.
He thirty rowling years the crown ſhall wear:
Then from *Lavinium* ſhall the ſeat transfer,
And with hard labour *Alba Longa* build:
The throne with his ſucceſſion ſhall be fill'd
Three hundred circuits more: Then ſhall be ſeen
Ilia the fair, a Prieſteſs and a Queen;
Who full of *Mars*, in time, with kindly throws
Shall at a birth two goodly boys diſcloſe.
The royal babes a tawny wolf ſhall drain:
Then *Romulus* his Grandſire's throne ſhall gain;
Of martial tow'rs the founder ſhall become,
The People *Romans* call, the City *Rome*.
To them no bounds of empire I aſſign,
Nor term of years to their immortal line.
Ev'n haughty *Juno*, who with endleſs broils
Earth, ſeas and heav'n, and *Jove* himſelf turmoils,
At length aton'd, her friendly pow'r ſhall join,
To cheriſh and advance the *Trojan* line.
The ſubject world ſhall *Rome*'s dominion own,
And proſtrate ſhall adore the nation of the Gown.
An age is rip'ning in revolving fate,
When *Troy* ſhall overturn the *Græcian* ſtate;
And ſweet revenge her conqu'ring ſons ſhall call
To cruſh the people that conſpir'd her fall.
Then *Cæſar* from the *Julian* ſtock ſhall riſe,
Whoſe empire ocean, and whoſe fame the skies
Alone ſhall bound: whom fraught with eaſtern ſpoils,
Our heav'n, the juſt reward of human toils,

Securely

Securely ſhall repay with rites divine;
And incenſe ſhall aſcend before his ſacred ſhrine.
Then dire Debate, and impious war ſhall ceaſe,
And the ſtern age be ſoften'd into peace.
Then baniſh'd Faith ſhall once again return,
And veſtal fires in hallow'd temples burn:
And *Remus* with *Quirinus* ſhall ſuſtain
The righteous laws, and fraud and force reſtrain.
Janus himſelf before his *Fane* ſhall wait,
And keep the dreadful iſſues of his gate.
With bolts and iron bars: within remains
Impriſon'd, Fury, bound in brazen chains:
High on a trophy rais'd of uſeleſs arms
He ſits, and threats the world with vain alarms.

Dryden.

I hope none of my readers, but ſuch as are inſenſible of the fine ſtrokes of poetry, will be angry at the length of theſe two quotations, or at my thus ſetting them together; which I think the readieſt way to ſhew the beauties of both Authors, at leaſt it is moſt uſeful for the inſtruction of the young Student, for whoſe benefit this work was chiefly undertaken. I now proceed to tranſcribe ſome other paſſages from Silius. The following account of the origin of the Temple of *Jupiter-Ammon* is very curious and entertaining.

Nam tui Dona Jovis non divulgata per orbem.
In Gremio Thebes geminas ſediſſe Columbas?
Quarum Chaonias pennis quæ contigit oras
Implet fatidico Dodonida murmure quercum.
At quæ Carpathium ſuper æquor vecta, per auras
In Libyen niveis tranavit concolor alis,
Hanc ſedem primo Cythereïa condidit ales;
Hic ubi nunc aras lucoſque videtis opacos
Ductore electo gregis, (admirabile dictu)
Lanigeri capitis media inter cornua perſtans,
Marmaricis ales populis reſponſa canebat:
Mox ſubitum nemus atque annoſo robore lucus
Exſiluit, qualeſque premunt nunc ſidera quercus

A prin-

A prima venere die, priſco inde pavore
Arbor numen habet, coliturque tepentibus aris.
Lib. 3. Ver. 678.

To whom on earth are *Jove*'s fam'd gifts unknown,
The ſacred doves that firſt at *Thebes* were ſhown?
To the *Chaonian* coaſt one ſteer'd her flight,
Inſpiring oaks with her prophetic light:
But ſhe whom ſnowy wings high ſoaring bore
O'er ſeas *Carpathian*, reach'd the *Libyan* ſhore.
Here *Cytherea*'s bird firſt choſe to dwell,
And ſingling out the Ram, alighting fell
Betwixt his horns, and thence inſtructive taught
Thoſe oracles, the wondring people ſought.
Where now theſe altars and the ſhady wood
Delightful you behold, there firſt ſhe ſtood:
Men ſaw amaz'd at once a grove ariſe
Of theſe tall oaks, and ſudden reach the skies.
Hence antient rev'rence to this Grove is paid,
And ſmoaking altars are with victims fed.

The Deſcription of the *Alps* in the ſame book is very juſt and poetical:

Cuncta gelu, canaque æternum grandine tecta
Atque ævi glaciem cohibent, regit ardua montis
Ætherei facies, ſurgentique obvia Phœbo
Duratas neſcit flammis mollire pruinas.
Quantum Tartareus regni pallentis hiatus
Ad manes imos, atque atræ ſtagna Paludis
A ſupera tellure patet: tam longa per auras
Erigitur tellus & cælum intercipit umbra.
Nullum ver uſquam, nullique æſtatis honores:
Sola jugis habitat diris, ſedeſque tuetur
Perpetuas deformis hyems; illa undique nubes
Huc atras agit, & mixtos cum grandine nimbos.
Jam cuncti flatus, ventique furentia regna
Alpina poſuere domo, caligat in altis
Obtutus ſaxis, abeuntque in nubila montes:
Mixus Athos Tauro: Rhodope adjuncta Mimanti,
Oſſaque cum Pindo, cumque Hæmo ceſſerit Othrys.
Lib. 3. Ver. 478.

In

In every part eternally prevail
The growing froſt, and undiſſolving hail;
The aged ice endures: each lofty brow
Of theſe aerial hills is crown'd with ſnow.
Tho' *Phœbus* riſing on their Summit play,
The ſolid froſt defies his fierceſt ray:
Far as the gloomy dwellings ſink below
Our ſurface, where the *Stygian* waters flow,
So high above the vale the mountains riſe,
And with their ſhadow intercept the skies.
Nor Spring, nor Summer knows the gloomy year:
Winter deform'd for ever fix'd dwells here,
And on theſe dreary cliffs her ſeat defends;
Whence all around ſhe ſtorms diſpenſing ſends.
Mad *Boreas* here and all his boiſt'rous Train
Have choſe their home, hence ſcour the earth and main.
The weaken'd eye grows dim to take the height,
Which piercing thro' the clouds eludes the dazled ſight.

The ſcene of the ſoldiers conſternation to ſee one mountain riſing above the other is happily illuſtrated by the compariſon of a traveller at ſea, who can only ſee the water.

Quoque magis ſubiere jugo atque evadere niſi
Erexere gradum, creſcit labor, ardua ſupra
Seſe aperit feſſis, & naſcitur altera moles.
Unde nec edomitos, exſudatoſque labores
Reſpexiſſe libet, tanta formidine plena
Exterrent repetita oculis, atque una pruinæ
Canentis, quacunque datur permittere viſus
Ingeritur facies: medio ſic navita ponto
Quum dulces liquit terras, & inania nullos
Inveniunt ventos ſecuro carbaſa malo
Immenſas proſpectat aquas, ac victa profundis
Æquoribus, feſſus renovat ſua lumina cælo.

Lib. 7. Ver. 190.

The higher they aſcend, and ſeek to eaſe
Their wearied ſteps, their labours ſtill increaſe:

To

To one great height a greater doth ſucceed,
And every hill another ſeems to breed.
Hence all their toils and labours, which before
They had o'ercome, they tremble to explore.
Objects repeated, terrors new preſent,
Which ever way their trembling eyes are bent.
The horrid face of winter hoary white
Appearing, gives ſad limits to their ſight.
So when the unskil'd ſailor vent'rous leaves
His ſweet abode, for which too late he grieves,
And the brisk gale no longer ſwells the ſails,
Far as his view extends, the ſea prevails:
Tir'd with the boundleſs proſpect, then he tries
To eaſe his ſight, and upward caſts his eyes.

The deſcription of the river *Ticinus* is as beautiful as thoſe of the celebrated fountain in *Ovid*, where *Salmacis* and *Hermaphroditus* bathed, and *Narciſſus* admired his own beauty.

Cæruleas Ticinus aquas & ſtagna vadoſo
Perſpicuus ſervat turbari neſcia fundo,
Ac nitidum viridi lente trahit amne liquorem;
Vix credas labi, ripis tam mitis opacis
Argutos inter volucrum certamina cantus,
Somniferam ducit lucenti gurgite lympham.
Lib. 4. Ver. 82.

Ticinus in a ſhallow channel flows;
Yet gently glides the limpid ſtream along
The ſhady banks, where feather'd warblers throng;
From ſpray to ſpray the wanton ſongſters skip:
The tide tranſparent ſcarce is ſeen to creep,
And with low murmurs ſoft invites to ſleep.

Before I quote the following paſſage, I cannot forbear condemning Silius for an abſurd imitation of *Virgil*. The Conſul *Scipio* is introduced ſpeaking to his horſe *Garganus*, to whom he promiſes the fine trappings of *Chryxus*'s horſe. This *Chryxus* was a prince of the *Gauls* of great ſtature and fierceneſs, whom the Conſul was going to attack. *Mezentius* is

indeed made to ſpeak to his horſe *Rhætus* in the *Æneis*; but he was agitated by the extremity of grief and deſpair: and thoſe violent paſſions make men addreſs their diſcourſe to the moſt inanimate parts of nature. *Scipio* was cool, and wanted only to encourage his horſe to ride up againſt the *Gaul*. Beſides, what might be ſuppoſed a beautiful image in thoſe early times, when fine horſes were uncommon, and made the delight as well as the reward of the greateſt Heroes; is abſurd to be imitated in the ſecond *Punic* War by a grave and illuſtrious *Roman*, ſuch as this elder *Scipio* was. But the Poet has ſucceeded better in his compariſon of *Chryxus*'s fall when ſlain by the Conſul, with that of a great pile caſt into the ſea.

Haud aliter ſtructo Tyrrhena ad littora ſaxo
Pugnatura fretis ſubter cæciſque procellis,
Pila immane ſonans, impingitur ardua ponto:
Immugit Nereus, diviſaque cærula pulſu
Illiſum accipiunt irata ſub æquora montem. Lib. 4.

So where a mound is raiſing on the ſtrand
To quell the billows that inſult the land
A mighty pile is caſt, that falling rives
The foaming ſurges, and reſounding drives
With ſhock impetuous; they with angry roar
Admit the daſhing rock, and yield the ſhore.

The imitation Silius makes of the battle of the *Horatij* and *Curiatij* in the *Roman* ſtory, by an engagement of three *Romans* with as many *Carthaginians*, is agreeably related, though too like *Livy*'s account in the circumſtances of the combat. When *Mars* is made to deſcend with his train to inſtruct young *Scipio* in his firſt campaign, who afterwards ſaves his Father's life, and bears him wounded to his tent; I muſt confeſs, that I think this machinery needleſs, and of little advantage to a circumſtance which is ſo beautiful in Hiſtory. The Poet repreſents the God of war as admiring the heroic conduct of *Scipio*, who, according to *Livy*, was but ſixteen years old, when he behaved with ſo much gallantry. *Mars* foretells *Scipio*'s

pio's victory over *Hannibal* afterwards, and then returns to Heaven. This ſeems but a poor expedition for a God; and to mend the matter, it is *Jupiter* himſelf, who out of concern for the Conſul's life, ſends him to his relief, when he was encompaſſed and attacked by a body of *Carthaginians*.

This happens at the battle of *Trebia*: that river ſwells with the number of the ſlain, that ſtop'd the courſe of his ſtream, ſo that the Conſul *Scipio* is again in danger of his life. Silius here makes him expoſtulate with the river for favouring the *Carthaginians*, which at laſt he threatens to deſtroy, by letting out his waters by ſeveral cuts. The River-God full of reſentment at this inſult, ſwells higher, and lifting up his oozy head, reproves *Scipio* for his unjuſt menaces. *Venus* as ſhe lay in the embraces of *Vulcan*, ſaw and heard their diſpute; and being in pain for *Scipio*, throws ſome of her husband's fires into the river, which ſoon ſink the waters; but after the river's ſubmiſſion, and at his humble requeſt, he is allowed to flow in his uſual banks.

Were it not an ungrateful task to be thus forced to cenſure and expoſe my Author's failings, which I muſt do as they come in my way, unleſs I would leave the leſs skilful reader to be often miſled by ſeeming beauties, I might proceed farther in this examination: But it is enough to have ſhewn ſome of his beauties, and ſome of his errors; into the latter of which he often falls, by a too great affectation of adorning his ſubject.

To prevent which in others, I ſhall venture to lay down the following rule of *Lucretius*, though ſomewhat differently applied.

Ornari res ipſe negat contenta doceri.

A great ſubject is ſo far incapable of receiving additional ornaments from fiction, as it is above them, and ſo will ſhine moſt in the beautiful and ſublime ſimplicity of the narration; like fine figures in ſculpture to which the moſt elegant drapery would not only be

an incumbrance, but conceal ſome of the greateſt beauties that appear to advantage in the nudity.

This leads me to conſider in what caſes a judicious Poet will introduce a machine. I know but two; either to ſet off a little circumſtance that would appear mean without it, as *Virgil* has done, where *Æneas* meets his Mother *Venus* in the wood and asks her the way, not knowing who it was he ſpoke to; or ſecondly to compaſs ſome important event, for which the reader is to be prepared, and yet is as it were to be ſurprized at the manner of its being brought about; as where *Juno* in the ſame book goes to *Æolus* to get him to raiſe a ſtorm that ſhould unexpectedly drive the *Trojan* Fleet into the port of *Africa* near *Carthage*, which was to be the ſcene of that fine epiſode of his amour with *Dido*. When Poets have been willing to introduce machines into their ſubject without ſome ſuch like view, as the two above mentioned inſtances, they are not only needleſs, but often prove diſadvantageous to the Poem they were intended to grace.

To ſum up the character of Silius in a few words: He was not a ſtranger to ſome of thoſe great qualities required to form a great Poet; he was inferior to none of them in learning, both hiſtorical, moral, and natural; he had the judgment to chuſe a ſubject equally intereſting and illuſtrious. His characters are noble and juſt, and the ſentiments great and beautiful. We have ſeen that his deſcriptions are bold and well circumſtantiated, and the images very poetical, but the expreſſion, the colouring, is weak and often ſpiritleſs. He is maſter of many excellencies, but often loſes the influence of the ætherial particle, that enthuſiaſtic fire, which ſtrengthens every figure, and animates every line in *Homer* and *Virgil*. Though Silius does not always creep, he can ſometimes riſe with dignity and gracefulneſs: but he weaken'd his fire by attempting to imitate *Virgil*'s correctneſs. *Homer*'s fire as more fierce and blazing, would have warmed his flagging Muſe. A leſs intelligent reader is often apt to miſtake

the close exactness of *Virgil* for coldness: You lose the beauty of some of his truest images for want of due attention to the labour'd correctness of his expression, which like a curious figure encompassed by a strong shade does not strike every common eye. Silius by attempting to do the same, has sometimes left his figures without life, and his stile spiritless. But, however *Statius* modestly said of himself, that he follow'd *Virgil* at a distance, yet his fire made him often run out of the course, as Silius's caution kept him behind. So hard is it to observe the golden mean in Poetry as well as in other things. But though I have not failed observing Silius's faults, I think he has many more excellencies; so that he justly deserves the character of a good Poet, who would be much more esteemed were he more known.

THE LIFE OF *MARTIAL.*

MARCUS VALERIUS MARTIALIS was a native of *Bilbilis* now *Bilboa*, the capital of the province of *Biſcay* in *Spain*. In his youth he was ſent to proſecute his ſtudies at *Rome*, being intended for the Law; but finding in himſelf no great talent that way, he left the Bar and applied himſelf to Poetry, to which his genius led him. He was ſo fortunate in the exerciſe of that eaſy vein of writing in which he excelled, that it ſoon got him the acquaintance and friendſhip of many of the firſt rank at *Rome*; and particularly of *Silius Italicus*, *Stella* and *Pliny* the Younger; the latter of whom ſpeaks very handſomely of him in his Epiſtles. Three ſucceeding Emperors became his patrons, *Domitian*, *Nerva*, and *Trajan*; the former made him a *Roman* Knight, and granted him the privileges of a Citizen that had three children. *Stertinius* a *Roman* Nobleman had ſo great an eſteem for him, that he placed his ſtatue in his library, whilſt the Poot was yet living; an honour generally paid to the memory of the illuſtrious dead only. The Emperor *Verus*, who reigned with *Antoninus* the Philoſopher, uſed to call MARTIAL his *Virgil*, thereby ſufficiently intimating the eſteem he had for his works.

TOWARDS the middle of *Trajan*'s reign, MARTIAL grew deſirous of retiring to his native country, after having

having lived at *Rome* thirty four years: See *Lib.* 10. *Epigr.* 103. His friend and patron *Pliny* generouſly contributed to the expences of his journey. The Poet had the happineſs to ſurvive this retreat many years, and wrote his 12th book at *Bilboa*, after three years ſilence, at the requeſt of his friend *Priſcus*, who came to him in *Spain*, and to whom it is inſcribed as his patron and benefactor.

I think MARTIAL was twice married; but the name of his firſt wife is no where mentioned, nor that he had any children by her: The ſecond, whom (*Lib.* 12. *Ep.* 21.) he much admires and commends, was a *Spaniard*, and he ſeems to have married her after his return to *Bilboa*. She being born at *Salo* a town not far from thence, the 31ſt *Epigram* of the 12th book commends the fine gardens ſhe had there, and which ſhe preſented to her husband.

MARTIAL was of a pleaſant and grateful diſpoſition, of a ready wit and ſprightly genius. *Catullus*, *Calous*, *Pedo Marſus*, and *Getulicus*, are ſaid to be the Poets he choſe to imitate. It is ſtrange that of the great number of Epigrammatic Writers among the *Romans*, we ſhould have the works of none preſerved but thoſe of *Catullus* and *Martial*. There was ſcarce a Gentleman at *Rome* that pretended to wit and learning, for ſeveral ages, but made ſome eſſays of his abilities this way, as being of all others the moſt obvious and amuſing. *Pliny* the Younger with all his gravity diverted himſelf ſometimes with writing Hendecaſyllables, which were little Poems of the Epigrammatic kind; indulging the ſallies of a merry and ſometimes a looſer vein. But I need not dwell any longer on what is ſo notorious.

NOTWITHSTANDING MARTIAL paid great compliment to *Domitian*, I cannot find that he made his fortune by it. His circumſtances were low by his own confeſſion, where he ought to have ſaid all he could think of to his own reputation, it being an Epigram written in his own defence againſt the inſults of a rich fool.

Sum fateor ſemperque fui, Calliſtrate, pauper,
Sed non obſcurus, nec male notus eques.
Sed toto legor orbe frequens, & dicitur hic eſt;
Quodque cinis paucis, hoc mihi vita dedit.
Lib. 5. Ep. 13.

Low is my fortune, yet not quite ſo mean
But in the rank of *Roman* Knights I'm ſeen.
My Works with pleaſure thro' the world are read;
The praiſe few dead obtain, is to me living paid.

We have no other helps to determine the time of our Poet's birth and death, than what his works can afford, which ſtill make it conjectural. He ſays he liv'd at *Rome* thirty four years, and was grey-haired when he retired to *Bilboa*; where he married *Marcella*, I think his ſecond wife, and after three years ſilence publiſh'd his 12th book of Epigrams: we hear no more of him after this, and ſo may ſuppoſe he did not long ſurvive this publication. If we knew the date of *Pliny*'s letter about his death, which is addreſſed to *Cornelius Priſcus*, and very probably the ſame perſon to whom the Poet has dedicated his 12th book, we might determine it, and thereby pretty nearly fix his birth. All that can be gathered from what has been ſaid, is that ſuppoſing him twenty two at his firſt coming to *Rome*, where he lived thirty four years, he muſt be fifty nine when he publiſh'd his laſt book; for the 13th and 14th books ſeem to have been written long before it. He was born the 1ſt of *March*, as he tells us, *Lib.* 10. *Ep.* 24. which might happen about the tenth year of *Claudian*, and ſo his coming to *Rome* will fall in with the beginning of *Veſpaſian*'s reign; and his death, ſuppoſing it to have happened within a year after the 12th book was publiſhed, about the 15th of *Trajan*.

Before we examine his works, it may not be improper to enquire a little into the nature of Epigrammatic Poetry.

Originally the word *Epigram* ſignified only an Inſcription; which being often comprehended in a few

few lines or verſes, came afterwards to ſignify more particularly certain ſhort Poems.

The Critics have defined the Epigram to be a ſhort Poem containing a clear expoſition of ſome thing, or character, or action. It is diſtinguiſhed into the Pointed and not Pointed: The Pointed Epigram is that which has a turn or ſting in the concluſion, and if well done, is generally reckoned the beſt; though there are many good Epigrams which are of the ſecond ſort, unpointed, that have no turn at all. *Navagerius* a learned *Italian* and great admirer of *Catullus*, who excells in the unpointed Epigram, uſed on his birth day every year to burn a certain number of Martial's books, in honour to the other Poet's memory: But beſides that this ſavour'd too much of vanity, Martial has many excellent Epigrams of the unpointed ſort.

True Wit ſeems likewiſe in a peculiar manner to be the Epigrammatiſt's province, at leaſt he ſhould go on no other foundation than that which is juſt and beautiful. Some have defined the Beautiful in writing to be that which truly and properly, to which I add, and elegantly deſcribes the mutual relation and agreement between the nature of things and our ideas of them. This happy talent more particularly concerns the Epigrammatiſt, whoſe compoſitions being ſhort and confined to a ſingle ſubject, make themſelves eaſy to be underſtood and cenſured by almoſt every reader, who may with little labour diſcern the beauties or blemiſhes that lye in a ſmall compaſs.

But as true Wit and juſt thoughts are not always at a Writer's command, the Epigrammatiſt is very liable to run into falſe wit. If there be a mixture of truth and falſhood in the thought, it may ſometimes be allowed in a good Epigram; but if that thought on which the turn depends ſhould prove falſe the whole Epigram is bad.

To ſhew himſelf a maſter, the Poet ſhould not only invent a happy turn, but let his expreſſion be conciſe and clear; for a good thought is ſometimes ſpoiled by

adding to, or enlarging it, or at leaſt becomes ambiguous and obſcure. As true beauty is moſt comely in a plain dreſs, ſo a fine thought ſhines moſt in its genuine ſimplicity, without any additional ornaments from the Poet's fancy.

To begin with examining ſome of Martial's Epigrams by the rules aforeſaid, I ſhall inſtance in that on the celebrated ſtory of *Pætus* and *Arria*. Almoſt every reader knows, that *Nero* having ordered *Pætus* to die, *Arria* that noble *Roman*'s wife, took a generous reſolution to die with him, with whom ſhe had lived many years in all the endearments of the moſt tender conjugal affection, ſo that this happy couple were become the admiration of the Age. In order to let her husband ſee how eaſy it was to die, ſhe ſtabbed her ſelf in his preſence, and drawing the dagger all bloody out of her boſom, and preſenting it to him, with an air full of heroic conſtancy mingled with the ſweeteſt affection, ſaid, *Pætus*, it is not painful.

Martial, imagining that by ſome addition of his own, he could give a new grace to this heroic lady's action and expreſſion, makes her ſay beſides the words above; believe me, *Pætus*, it is the wound you are going to give your ſelf that gives me pain. By this indiſcreet addition the chief beauty of the action and thought is deſtroyed; for *Arria*, by ſaying to her husband, *Non dolet Pæte, Pætus*, it is not painful, encouraged him to plunge the Dagger to his heart, with the ſame indifference and reſolution that he had juſt ſeen her do it: But the Poet's addition makes the poor Lady kill her ſelf to no purpoſe, by that unſeaſonable expreſſion of tenderneſs for him, which muſt diſcourage him from killing himſelf, becauſe ſhe ſays that would give her pain though her own death gave her none. Though that excellent Lady might naturally be ſuppoſed full of ſuch tender ſentiments, yet ſhe had too much of the noble *Roman* in her to increaſe his agonies by ſuch a declaration, and therefore this additional thought, tho' natural and beautiful in it ſelf, is in this place very improper. The Epigram is as follows.

Caſta

Caſta ſuo gladium cum traderet Arria Pæto,
Quem de viſceribus traxerat ipſa ſuis,
Crede mihi, vulnus quod feci, non dolet, inquit;
Sed, quod tu facies, hoc mihi, Pæte, dolet.
Lib. 1. Ep. 4.

The virtuous *Arria* drawing from her breaſt
The reeking dagger, *Pætus* thus addreſt;
This does not pain me, *Pætus*, but I rue
The wound you'll make and doubly die in you.

This inſtance wherein Martial has failed, may ſhow that it is no eaſy manner to write a good Epigram upon a known ſubject, eſpecially where the thought, and even the expreſſion of the turn are already made to the Poet's hand.

I ſhall next proceed to ſhew by the example of Martial, how an Epigrammatiſt may treat the ſame ſubject well and ill at different times.

In the following Epigram the ſubject is nobly executed, and the turn juſt and well pointed.

Antoni Phario nil objecture Photino,
Et levius tabula quam Cicerone nocens;
Quid gladium demens Romana ſtringis in ora?
Hoc admiſiſſet nec Catilina nefas.
Impius infando miles corrumpitur auro,
Et tantis opibus vox tacet una tibi.
Quid proſunt ſacræ pretioſa ſilentia Linguæ?
Incipient omnes pro Cicerone loqui. Lib. 5. Ep. 50.

Photinus' Crime ſhew'd not more cruel will,
O *Antony*, than thy proſcription bill.
But *Cicero*'s death did far exceed the reſt,
Ev'n *Catiline* would ſpare his ſacred breaſt.
A ſoldier's avarice brib'd by heaps of gold,
To thy Revenge the dear bought ſilence ſold;
But what avails the ſilence of one tongue,
Whilſt thouſands in its ſtead proclaim the wrong?

The reader may obſerve, that *Antony* is here made as criminal for proſcribing *Cicero* as *Photi-*

nus for having *Pompey* assassinated, when he fled, after the battle of *Pharsalia*, to *Ptolemy* in *Ægypt*. MARTIAL, who seems full of indignation against the memory of *Antony*, and perhaps was willing to compliment *S. Italicus*, who was one of his Patrons, and a great admirer of *Cicero*'s, as it were correcting his former assertion, which is however repeated in the first verse of the following Epigram, undertakes to shew, that *Antony* was more criminal in putting *Cicero* to Death, than *Photinus* in murdering *Pompey*; and uses this argument, that what *Photinus* did was for his Prince's service, whereas *Antony* kill'd *Cicero* to gratify his own revenge. But the Poet was not aware, that the converse of this proposition is equally true, *viz*, that *Antony* is more excusable than *Photinus*, because the latter assassinated *Pompey* without any provocation, meerly to satisfy his own and his master's timorous policy, in doing which they were guilty of the highest ingratitude to *Pompey*, who had been a benefactor to *Ægypt* and them: whereas *Antony* had, as he thought, received the most injurious treatment imaginable from *Cicero*, whose eloquent harangues in the Senate, had caused him to be declared a traitor and the enemy of his Country. But let us see the Epigram.

Par scelus admisit Pharijs Antonius armis;
Abscidit vultus ensis uterq; sacros
Illud laurigeros ageret cum læta triumphos
Hoc tibi, Roma, caput, cum loquereris, erat.
Antoni tamen est pejor quam causa Photini;
Hic facinus Domino præstitit, ille sibi.

Lib. 3. Ep. 65.

Alike was *Antony*'s and *Ægypt*'s guilt;
Each *Rome*'s best blood in her two Heroes spilt.
Pompey the *Roman* arms to triumphs led,
Rome, when she spoke, bid *Tully* be her head.
Yet he a victim to resentment falls,
When *Antony* provok'd for vengeance calls.
The *Pharian* to the *Roman* yields the Prize,
Photinus but obeys when *Pompey* dies.

At

At the ſame time that I condemn the turn of this Epigram as ambiguous at beſt, it is but juſtice to the Poet to ſay, that the expreſſions are noble and very poetical.

The following Epigram is an inſtance of a turn made upon a falſe thought, which may impoſe upon us at firſt by an air of the ſublime.

Sextantes, Calliſte, duos infunde Falerni;
Tu ſuper æſtivas, Alcime, funde nives.
Pingueſcat nimio madidus mihi crinis amomo,
Laſſenturq; roſis tempora ſutilibus.
Jam vicina jubent nos vivere Mauſolæa,
Cum doceant ipſos poſſe perire Deos.

Lib. 5. Ep. 65.

Boy, fill with gen'rous wine the ſwelling bowl,
Temper'd with ſummer's ſnow to make it cool:
With ointments rich perfume my hair, my head
Crown with full Garlands of wreath'd roſes made:
Yon *Mauſoleum* bids us life enjoy,
Which ſhews, that death can even Gods deſtroy.

The Latin word *vivere* emphatically ſignifies to be merry and enjoy the pleaſures of Life. The Poet here ſuppoſes himſelf ſitting in ſight of the Tombs of the Emperors, who by the groſs flattery of the times uſed to be ſtiled Gods even in their life time. Martial therefore recommends the preſent enjoyment of life from this Conſideration, that the Gods themſelves had but a ſhort time to live. The Gods as meaning the Emperors had indeed but a ſhort time to live, they were ſubject to death as well as other men: But the general notion of Gods implying immortal Beings, makes the thought falſe, unleſs ſome epithet were added to ſoften the expreſſion, and then the turn it ſelf would be loſt.

I ſhall give another example where the Poet has leſſened the greatneſs of the thought and action, by making ſome addition to it; which generally happens when we give our fancy way and ſo forget the ſtrict propriety

propriety of the perſon's character, whoſe actions or ſentiments are made the ſubject of an Epigram. The Character of *Portia*, that illuſtrious daughter of *Cato* of *Utica* and wife of *Brutus*, is well known, as well as the trial ſhe made of her own conſtancy and ſecrecy, when ſhe found *Brutus* ſcrupled to truſt her with a ſecret. The following Epigram introduces her as killing her ſelf by ſwallowing live coals; and ſpeaking to thoſe about her, ſhe reminds them of what her Father had ſaid a little before his death to thoſe, who out of Zeal for his ſafety had taken his ſword away: Do not you know, ſaid that great *Roman*, that a man reſolved to die, can ſtop his breath, or run his head againſt the wall? *Portia* hereby intimated that ſhe was a true daughter of *Cato*, and ſo all their endeavours to prevent her death were to no purpoſe; having ſaid that, ſhe ſwallowed the burning coals. But Martial, after ſhe had done that makes her ſay, by way of triumph, now, what ſignifies your depriving me of a ſword? It would be unbecoming her ſteady virtue to inſult the zealous affections of her attendants, and at beſt this addition is ſuperfluous.

Conjugis audiſſet fatum cum Porci Bruti,
Et ſubtracta ſibi quæreret arma dolor:
Nondum ſcitis, ait, mortem non poſſe negari?
Credideram ſatis hoc vos docuiſſe patrem.
Dixit, & ardentes avido bibit ore favillas:
I nunc, & ferrum turba moleſta nega.

Lib. 1. Ep. 43.

When *Porcia* heard of *Brutus*' death, her woes
She ſought the readieſt way with life to cloſe:
The weapon gone, ſhe ſaid, Death to reſtrain
I thought my Father's fate had ſhewn was vain.
Then haſtily the burning coals devour'd;
Now keep, ſhe cries, officious friends, the ſword.

There are other Epigrams that ſeem faulty, becauſe the Poet has been deceived in the choice of his ſubject, by the ſeeming dignity and excellency of it. In this light I conſider that of Martial on *Mucius Scævola*.

Scævola. The Story is finely told by the Poet; but I ſee only baſeneſs and falſhood at the bottom of it, though related at large in all the pomp of *Livy*'s eloquence. If indeed, as *Virgil* ſays, all is fair againſt an enemy,

Dolus an virtus, quis in hoſte requirat?

I ſhall acquit the Poet's judgment, as carried away in this particular by the public voice, which ſeemed to lay it down as a maxim, by their admiring what *Mucius* did, That the greateſt crimes become acts of virtue when committed for the ſervice of our country. But I think the *Romans* have in many inſtances ſhewn their abhorrence of ſuch principles, and allowed that there were laws and rights of war; however, they forgot themſelves in the caſe of *Mucius*. The turn MARTIAL has made in the laſt lines is very fine and juſt, for *Porſena*'s making peace with the *Romans*, whom he had reduced to great diſtreſs by a long and cloſe ſiege, was partly owing to his amazement and admiration of the deſperate courage of young *Mucius*, and partly to that lie by which that prince was made to believe that there were many others who had entered with *Mucius* into a combination to attack his life, if he did not ſave it by ſpeedily putting an end to the war, and abandoning the intereſts of the baniſhed *Tarquins*.

Cum peteret regem decepta ſatellite dextra,
Injecit ſacris ſe peritura focis:
Sed tam ſæva pius miracula non tulit hoſtis,
Et raptum flammis juſſit abire virum.
Urere quam potuit contempto Mucius igne,
Hanc ſpectare manum Porſena non potuit:
Major deceptæ fama eſt & gloria dextræ;
Si non erraſſet fecerat illa minus. Lib. 1. Ep. 22.

The hand that meant the King, but ſlew his Guard,
Atones its errour in the flames; ſo hard
Is *Mucius* to condemn, ſo much he dares
What to behold the *Tuſcan* monarch fears.

Such

Such cruel courage that good prince admires,
Diſmiſs'd with ſafety the bold youth retires.
Happy the hand whoſe praiſe from errour grown
Had from ſucceſs inferior honour known.

THERE is a noble kind of Epigram that concludes with a moral ſentence fitly applied to ſome action. MARTIAL ſometimes excels that way. The reader will ſee a beautiful inſtance of it in the following Epigram.

Quod magni Thraſeæ conſummatique Catonis
Dogmata ſic ſequeris, ſalvus ut eſſe velis,
Pectore nec nudo ſtrictos incurris in enſes
Quod feciſſe velim te, Deciane, facis.
Nolo virum facili redimit qui ſanguine famam;
Hunc volo laudari qui ſine morte poteſt.

Lib. 1. Ep. 9.

Cato and *Thraſea*'s virtues that you dare
Nobly to follow, yet of life take care,
Nor deſp'rate on the pointed weapon fall;
This conduct, *Decianus*, pleaſes all.
I like not him who dies to purchaſe name,
But him whoſe conduct guards both life and fame.

HAVING thus examined ſeveral kinds of Epigrams of a ſerious turn, I ſhall proceed in the ſame manner with ſome that are enlivened by a more pleaſant vein of wit.

THERE are ſome, in which an elegant enumeration of circumſtances preparatory to the turn, is ſometimes requiſite to make the Epigram compleat. The parts ought here to be agreeably diſtributed, the expreſſion eaſy, clear, and lively: This may make a low ſubject ſhine. The following Epigram will ſhew MARTIAL's ſucceſs this way.

Occurrit tibi nemo quod libenter,
Quod quacunque venis fuga eſt, & ingens
Circa te, Ligurine, ſolitudo;
Quid ſit, ſcire cupis? nimis poeta es:
Hoc valde vitium periculoſum.

Nam

Nam tantos rogo quis ferat labores?
Et ſtanti legis, & legis ſedenti,
Currenti legis, & legis canenti;
In Thermas fugio, ſonas ad aurem:
Piſcinam peto, non licet natare;
Ad cœnam propero, tenes euntem:
Ad cœnam venio, fugas ſedentem:
Laſſus dormio, ſuſcitas jacentem.
Vis quantum mali facias videre,
Vir juſtus, probus, innocens, timeris. Lib. 3. Ep. 44.

That you ſhould no kind welcome meet,
Nor any friend your coming greet;
That all men your approaches fly,
Surpris'd you ask the reaſon why;
The reaſon! too much Poetry,
A dang'rous fault, big with offence;
For who can bear th' impertinence?
Whether I ſit, ſtand, run, or ſing,
Your verſes in my ears muſt ring.
When I go bathe, the Poet's there,
And ſounds heroics in my ear.
By friends invited would I go,
I'm ſtop'd to mark thy numbers flow.
To take a dinner if I come,
Your verſes drive me faſting home.
When wearied I lie down to reſt,
That with rehearſals you moleſt.
By this one folly ſee what miſchief's done!
The juſt, good man we for the Poet ſhun.

THIS next is of the ſame kind, and though ſhorter, equally beautiful for the neat diſtribution of the parts, and the humour of the turn.

Ne valeam ſi non totis, Deciane, diebus,
Et tecum totis noctibus eſſe velim:
Sed duo ſunt, quæ nos diſtinguunt, millia paſſûm,
Quatuor hæc fiunt cum rediturus eam.
Sæpe domi non es; cum ſis quoque ſæpe negaris;
Vel tantum cauſſis, vel tibi ſæpe vacas.

Te

Te tamen ut videam duo millia non piget ire;
Ut te non videam quatuor ire piget. Lib. 2. Ep. 5.

Both day and night with pleaſure I could ſpend
To have the company of ſuch a friend:
But 'tis two miles from me to you, two more
In walking home, which makes the journey four.
You're oft abroad, and when at home deny'd
For bus'neſs, health, and God knows what beſide.
Two miles I'd go to ſee a friend like you,
But four miles not to ſee you! Sir, adieu.

THERE are ſome Epigrams of this ſort, which MARTIAL has brought within the compaſs of one Diſtich, including the narration and the turn. The following is a pleaſant inſtance of it, but I could not preſerve the conciſeneſs of the Original in the tranſlation.

Omnia promittis cum tota nocte bibiſti:
Mane nihil præſtas, Poſthume, mane bibas.
Lib. 12. Ep. 12.

After drinking all night, in a maudlin kind fit,
You promiſe me fair, but next morning forget.
To make you keep true to your word, the beſt way
Is to get you well drunk againſt break of day.

I ſhall add another of this kind, which Mr. *Addiſon* has tranſlated in the Spectator, and pleaſantly applied to the good old Knight Sir *Roger*, who was ſometimes as full of his beautiful widow as the Perſon *Martial* deſcribes was of his *Nævia*.

Quicquid agit Rufus, nihil eſt niſi Nævia Rufo:
Si gaudet, ſi flet, ſi tacet, hanc loquitur.
Cœnat, propinat, poſcit, negat, annuit, una eſt
Nævia, ſi non ſit Nævia, mutus erit.
Scriberet heſterna patri cum luce ſalutem,
Nævia lux, inquit, Nævia, numen, ave.
Lib. 1. Ep. 69.

Let *Rufus* weep, rejoice, ſtand, ſit, or walk,
Still he can nothing but of *Nævia* talk:

Let

Let him eat, drink, ask queſtions, or diſpute,
Still he muſt ſpeak of *Nævia*, or be mute.
He wrote to's Father ending with this line,
I am my lovely *Nævia* ever thine.

MARTIAL has ſucceeded in ſuch Epigrams as are properly ſpeaking without any turn, being after the manner of that ſimplicity which is ſo beautiful in ſome of *Catullus*'s. The following is one inſtance out of ſeveral, and I think perfect in its kind.

Non donem tibi cur meos libellos,
Oranti toties & exigenti
Miraris Theodore? magna cauſſa eſt;
Dones tu mihi ne tuos libellos. Lib. 5. Ep. 73.

Ceaſe, *Theodorus*, to admire,
Tho' often you my works ~~admire~~, require
That I them ſtill refuſe to give:
'Tis that I may not yours receive.

BUT there are ſome of theſe which by the too frequent uſe of the *Antitheſis*, loſe that character of humour in which the beauty of theſe Epigrams ſeems chiefly to conſiſt.

Inſequeris, fugio; fugis, inſequor, hoc mihi mens eſt,
Velle tuum nolo Dyndime, nolle volo. Lib. 5. Ep. 84.

This *Dyndimus*, is my deſign, to fly
What you purſue, what you decline to try;
What you commend my humor diſapproves,
But what you hate my wanton fancy loves.

AN excellent Epigram of this kind is that celebrated diſtich of *Virgil*'s, wherein he has paid the fineſt compliment to *Auguſtus*, that ever Poet did to his Patron in two lines, and upon ſo inconſiderable a circumſtance as that on which the thought is founded. This little performance was the dawn of a great Genius.

Nocte pluit tota redeunt ſpectacula mane:
Diviſum Imperium cum Jove Cæſar habet.

All

All night it rains, with day the ſhow returns;
Thus *Jove* and *Cæſar* rule the world by turns.

It would be time loſt to take notice of the many little witticiſms and falſe turns to be met with among Martial's Epigrams. I ſhall obſerve in general, that all meer alluſions to words, equivocations and obſcene hints are vitious, however they met with a toleration and even countenance among the antients. His own neceſſity and the corrupt taſte of the public are the beſt apology that can be made for him; as he lived chiefly by his wits, he was often obliged to compoſe to pleaſe the taſte of the ill judging many, and that this was the caſe of his Epigrams in general he has the modeſty to acknowledge himſelf.

Sunt bona, ſunt quædam mediocria, ſunt mala plura,
Quæ legis hic: Aliter non fit, avite, liber.

Reader to books of Epigrams be kind;
Few good, indifferent ſome, more bad you'll find.

I hope the aforeſaid remarks and examples will aſſiſt the leſs knowing reader in forming a right judgment of Epigrams in general, as well as of Martial's in particular. Upon the whole, it appears that his Genius was extenſive and lively; no ſubject came amiſs to him, and he was certainly capable, had the good taſte of the age encouraged him to it, to keep up the ſpirit of this kind of Poetry, without the poor helps of falſe wit and obſcenity. As for his ſtile it is various, according to the ſubject; he does not often riſe to the ſublime, and his expreſſion is neither ſo pure nor ſo correct as that of *Catullus*. It is evident from ſeveral of Martial's Epigrams, that his works were received with applauſe in moſt parts of the *Roman* Empire: This he is allow'd to declare himſelf by an indulgence peculiarly allowed to Poets of praiſing themſelves.

Hic eſt quem legis, ille quem requiris,
Toto notus in orbe Martialis,
Argutis Epigrammatôn Libellis, &c. Lib. 1. Ep. 1.

BUT for fear the reader ſhould refuſe to admit the Poet as a ſufficient witneſs in his own cauſe, I will produce a letter of *Pliny*'s, addreſſed to *Cornelius Priſcus*, whom I take to be the ſame *Priſcus*, that the Poet has dedicated his 12th book to, and was his friend and patron, and a man of Conſular dignity. It is the 21ſt of the 3d book.

"I hear MARTIAL is dead, and am very ſorry for "it. He was a man of an eaſy, agreeable, and lively "wit, who knew very well how to temper the ſeve- "rity of Satire with the pleaſantry of Wit, without "a mixture of ill nature. Upon his leaving *Rome*, I "made him a preſent towards the expences of his "journey. This I owed to the friendſhip I had for "him, as well as to the verſes he had addreſſed to me. "It was cuſtomary with our anceſtors handſomely to "requite all thoſe whoſe writings had contributed "to the glory of particular places or perſons. But "this among other good cuſtoms is now laid aſide: "For ſince we have ceaſed doing what is praiſe-wor- "thy, we are grown careleſs of praiſe. Perhaps you "have a curioſity to know what theſe verſes were, "which I thought ſo deſerving of acknowledgment. "I would ſend you to his book, if I did not remem- "ber ſome of them. If you like theſe, the reſt you "may find in the collection of his works. Speaking "to his Muſe, the Poet charges her to wait on me at "my houſe on the *Eſquiline* hill, and addreſs her ſelf "to me in a very reſpectful manner.

Sed ne tempore non tuo diſertam
Pulſes ebria januam, videto;
Totos dat tetricæ dies Minervæ,
Dum centum ſtudet auribus virorum,
Hoc quod ſæcula, poſterique poſſint
Arpinis quoque comparare chartis:
Seras tutior ibis ad lucernas.
Hæc hora eſt tua, quum furit Liæus
Quum regnat roſa, quum madent Capilli:
Tunc me vel rigidi legant Catones. Lib. 10. Ep. 19.

Whilſt

Whilſt *Pliny* ſtudies that perſuaſive art
Which moves the rigid wondring magiſtrate;
Ages to come, like ours, will all confeſs,
His Eloquence does *Tully*'s beſt expreſs.
Forbear, raſh Muſe, to interrupt his time,
So well employ'd, with thy intruding Rhime:
Obſerve the hour, ſoon as the ſun's decline
Invites to mirth, to ſupper and to wine:
That ſeaſon's yours, when roſy garlands crown
Each brow, and *Cato*'s ſtern forget to frown.

"Are you not of my opinion, that he, who ſpoke of "me in this manner, deſerved to receive ſome ſmall "marks of my affection at his departure from *Rome*, "and of my ſorrow for his death? He gave me as "much as was in his power to give: and indeed what "greater gift can a man receive from his friend, than "immortal glory? But perhaps MARTIAL's Poems "may not be immortal; ſhould I grant it, yet you "muſt allow that he wrote them with this view." Thus far *Pliny*.

IF that great man's generous nature made him ſenſible of his obligation to the Poet, and prompted him to be liberal to him in return, nothing but MARTIAL's real merit could induce a man of his ſincerity to ſpeak ſo advantageouſly of him after his death. The Verſes above are part of a kind of Epiſtle Dedicatory to *Pliny*, to whom MARTIAL ſent a volume of his Epigrams.

BUT before I cloſe this writer's life, it may be expected I ſhould ſay ſomething more particularly concerning the looſer part of his works.

THOUGH it is true, as has been already obſerved in the life of *Catullus*, that ſome of the graveſt and beſt men among the Ancients did ſometimes indulge a looſe vein of Poetry, and particularly about the time of their *Saturnalia*, a feſtival among them that fell out about the time of our Chriſtmas; yet one is ſtill at a loſs to conceive how they could reconcile this Practice with their own excellent notions of moral virtue and

public decency. MARTIAL alludes in one of his Epigrams to the following ſtory.

AT the time the Games in honour of *Flora* were celebrating on the theatre at *Rome*, upon *Cato*'s coming in there, the obſcene dances ceaſed for a while; the very Actors being as it were aſhamed to proceed in the preſence of that virtuous man. The Hiſtorian obſerves, that *Cato* was ſurpriſed at the diſcontinuance of the entertainment, but being told the reaſon by a friend of his that ſate by him, he went out of the theatre; the people ſhewed their applauſe by a loud clap, and then the diverſion went on. Is it not almoſt unaccountable, if we did not conſider the force of cuſtom, that a great and wiſe nation ſhould not be aſhamed of a religious entertainment and ſolemnity, for in this light the *Romans* conſidered theſe lewd Games called the *Floralia*, which they were aſhamed to perform in the preſence of *Cato!* MARTIAL only laughs at *Cato*'s abſurdity in coming into the Theatre on this occaſion.

Noſſes jocoſæ dulce cum ſacrum Floræ,
Feſtoſque luſus & licentiam vulgi;
Cur in theatrum, Cato ſevere, veniſti?
An ideo tantum veneras, ut exires? Lib. 1. Ep. 3.

Knowing what jocund ſports and leud delights
Attend the ſtage at *Flora*'s ſacred rites,
The wanton vulgar's joy; why didſt thou come,
Stern *Cato*, there? to go thence faſter home?

COULD one imagine, that they who frequented theſe repreſentations were the ſame people, among whom the nicer rules of decency were ſo rigorouſly obſerved, that a Senator was fined for ſaluting his wife before his ſon! But when we look into the hiſtory of their Gods, every thing there preſents us with a ſcene of lewdneſs and infamy; and the greateſt vices might from thence borrow their ſanction and recommendation. Surely were their virtuous men to have reflected impartially on the inconſiſtency of their own conduct

conduct and principles, and how their reaſon and religion were as it were in open contradiction, they would have aboliſhed ſuch infamous diverſions: But this is too ſerious an enquiry for me to make; I leave their public lewdneſs and MARTIAL's obſcenity, as things no leſs abominable than unaccountable, to the juſt deteſtation of all thoſe who profeſs to have any regard, I need not ſay to religion, but to common decency and good breeding.

THE

THE LIFE OF JUVENAL.

WITHOUT entering into a tedious examination of the different opinions of commentators about the birth and age of JUVENAL, I ſhall endeavour to ſettle both as near as I can, by ſuch ſcattered hints as I have collected from his own writings. The account of his life, by ſome attributed to *Suetonius*, but more probably to *Probus* the Grammarian, is found in different manuſcripts with conſiderable variations; and *Suidas* is not always to be depended upon in his. However, ſuch points as both theſe writers of antiquity are agreed in, we may make uſe of, as having an appearance of truth, eſpecially where we can get no better information.

JUVENAL was born, about the beginning of *Claudius*'s reign, at *Aquinum*, a town belonging to the territory of the antient *Volci* in *Campania*, and ſince celebrated for having given birth to *Thomas* ſirnamed *Aquinas*, the famous father of ſcholaſtic philoſophy. Our Poet's father was a rich freed man, who gave him a liberal education, and agreeably to the taſte of the age, bred him up to the ſtudy of eloquence, in which he made great progreſs, firſt under *Fronto* the Grammarian, and afterwards, as it is generally conjectured, under *Quintilian*, who is thought to have ſeen ſome of his firſt ſatires, and to commend them, though he does not name the Poet; where he

ſays, ſpeaking of the *Roman* ſatire, *Sunt clare hodie quoque & qui olim nominabuntur* *.

Juvenal contracted an early friendſhip with *Martial* the Poet, who addreſſes three ſeveral Epigrams to him, *Lib.* 7. *Ep.* 23. and 91. where he gives him the title of *the Eloquent*, and proves that Juvenal follow'd the Bar, and the 18th *Ep.* of *Lib.* 12. The laſt being written by *Martial* after he was retired to *Bilboa*, which was under *Trajan*, and ſpeaks of Juvenal as a man yet in full vigour, ſeems to argue that Juvenal had written but few ſatires yet; or why ſhould he not have mentioned them in a private epiſtle to ſo intimate a friend, when *Domitian*, Juvenal's enemy, was dead, and *Martial* himſelf had now no more meaſures to keep with any other great men that might think themſelves attacked by the Satiriſt. This circumſtance of *Martial*'s ſilence convinces me, that Juvenal never profeſſed Poetry, and that his Satires were written very late; that he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf many years by his eloquence at the Bar, and had improved his fortune and intereſt at *Rome* before he thought of Poetry, the very ſtile of which in his Satires ſpeaks a long habit of declaiming; *Subactum redolent declamatorem*, ſay the Critics of his Satires: And we are told that he recited his firſt eſſay, which he made being above forty, to a ſmall audience of his friends: but being encouraged by their applauſe, he hazarded a greater publication; which reaching the ears of *Paris*, *Domitian*'s chief favourite at that time, though but a *Pantomime* Player, whom the Satiriſt had ſeverely inſulted in the Satire, that *Minion* made his complaint to the Emperor, who ſent the offending Poet into baniſhment, under the pretence of giving him the Prefecture of a cohort that was to be quartered in that city of *Ægypt*. He was not idle during his ſtay there, but made ſuch obſervations of the ridiculous ſuperſtition and religious differences of that blind people, as he afterwards

* *Inſt. Orat.* Lib. 10. Cap. 1.

wrought

wrought up into a Satire, which is the 15th in the order they are commonly publiſhed. But let us ſee this paſſage for which the Satiriſt was thus diſgraced: This perhaps with other favourite paſſages he has preſerved, by inſerting them into ſome of thoſe Satires which we now have, and ſeem to have been all written ſince his return from *Ægypt*.

Curritur ad vocem jucundam, & carmen amicæ
Thebaidos, lætam fecit cum Statius urbem,
Promiſitque diem: tanta dulcedine captos
Afficit ille animos, tantaque libidine vulgi
Auditur! ſed cum fregit ſubſellia verſu,
Eſurit, intactam Paridi niſi vendit Agaven.
Ille & militiæ multis largitur honorem,
Semeſtri vatum digitos circumligat auro.
Quod non dant proceres, dabit hiſtrio—Sat. 7. Ver. 81.

All *Rome* is pleas'd when *Statius* will rehearſe,
And longing crowds expect the promis'd verſe.
His lofty numbers with ſo great a guſt
They hear, and ſwallow with ſuch eager luſt:
But while the common ſuffrage crown'd his cauſe,
And broke the benches with their loud applauſe,
His Muſe had ſtarv'd, had not a piece unread,
And by a Player bought, ſupply'd her bread.
He can diſpoſe of honours and commands,
The pow'r of *Rome* is in an Actor's hands;
The peaceful gown and military ſword:
The bounteous Play'r outgives the pinching Lord.
Dryden.

After *Domitian*'s death, Juvenal returned to *Rome*, ſufficiently cautioned not only againſt attacking the characters of thoſe in power under arbitrary princes, but againſt all perſonal reflections upon the great men living; and therefore he thus wiſely concludes the debate he is ſuppoſed to have maintained with a friend of his on this head, in the firſt Satire, which ſeems the firſt that he wrote after his being recalled from baniſhment.

——*Experiar quid concedatur in illos*
Quorum Flaminia tegitur cinis atque Latina.
Since none the living villains dare implead,
Arraign them in the perſons of the dead. *Dryden.*

Mr. *Dryden* has very imperfectly render'd his Author's meaning: JUVENAL, after having heard the danger which his friend aſſures him will attend his attacking the great men then living, cloſes the conference with this reſolution, "Then I will try what liberties I may be allowed with thoſe whoſe aſhes lye "under the *Flaminian* and *Latin* ways." All along thoſe two famous roads the *Romans* of the firſt quality uſed to be buried. The *Engliſh* reader muſt excuſe it, if in many other places the *Latin* is not truly rendered; let him read Lord *Roſcomon*'s excellent Poem on tranſlated verſe, and then he will be able to judge how difficult it is, not to ſay often impoſſible, ſtrictly to give the ſenſe, and at the ſame time preſerve the ſpirit of the original. I thought my ſelf obliged to make this digreſſion in juſtice to the memory of *Dryden*, who has given us excellent tranſlations of *Juvenal*, *Virgil*, and other *Latin* Poets; though he is in general much inferior to his originals, and often miſtakes their meaning, or renders it in a looſe manner. Far be it from me to have the vanity to think I have not failed where that great genius could not help erring. As I have only tranſlated ſome quotations out of ſuch Poets as had never been tranſlated by others, or at leaſt not by any of our great maſters, I might, though no Poet, be able in a few rhimes to give the ſenſe of my author more exactly than they who tranſlated a whole Poem. But to return to JUVENAL.

IN his 4th Satire, where he expoſes the infamous debaucheries and luxury of *Domitian*'s court, he ſpeaks of him as dead ſome time before the writing of that Satire.

Atque utinam his potius nugis tota illa dediſſet
Tempora ſævitiæ, claras quibus abſtulit urbi
Illuſtreſque

Illuſtreſque animas impune, & vindice nullo:
Sed periit poſtquam cerdonibus eſſe timendus
Cœperat, hoc nocuit Lamiarum cæde madenti.

Sat. 4. Ver. 150.

THE 13th Satire is addreſſed to his friend *Calvinus*, who he ſays was born under the Conſulſhip of *Fonteius Capito:*

——*Qui jam poſt terga reliquit*
Sexaginta annos, Fonteio conſule natus.

(Which anſwers to the year of *Rome* 811, and the 6th of *Nero*'s reign); and was ſixty years old at the time of the Poet's writing this Satire, which therefore was the year of *Rome* 871, and anſwers to the beginning of the 3d year of *Adrian*'s reign. From all which I infer, that JUVENAL was at this time above ſeventy: for ſince he is on all hands ſaid to be born under *Claudian*, we may fix it to the middle or 6th year of that Emperor's reign; and ſuppoſing, with all Authors that ſpeak of his death, that he attained to eighty, he died about the 11th year of *Adrian*'s reign.

As to his perſon, we are told that he was of a large ſtature, which made ſome think him to be of *Gallic* extraction. We meet with nothing relating to his moral character or way of life, but both from the manner of his puniſhment by *Domitian*, and the whole tenour of his writings, he ſeems to have been a friend to ſobriety and virtue.

As to what I have ſaid of his writing all the Satires now extant after his return from *Ægypt*, ſome make this objection, That what is alledged from the laſt lines of the 1ſt Satire above quoted, is not a full proof of the matter: For it may be ſuppoſed, ſay they, that the Satiriſt made this declaration the better to cover his real deſign; for by this means he might hope with ſecurity and under feigned names to expoſe the vices of *Domitian*'s court in ſome Satires which he publiſhed in *Domitian*'s life time; and ſuch a Satire they will have the 7th to be, out of which I have produced the paſſage that is ſuppoſed to have been the occaſion

caſion of his baniſhment. But I think it evident, that *Trajan* is the generous Prince that is ſaid by Juvenal to be the only encourager of learning; but that, according to the plan laid down in his 1ſt Satire, he brings inſtances of diſcouragement from a late reign, namely *Domitian*'s: and taking them in this light, we ſhall find all that is ſaid in that Satire to be very properly introduced, and among the reſt the famous one above-mentioned about *Paris*, who, though at firſt but an Actor when he became the Emperor's favourite, was the only patron the learned could find at that Prince's court. But I leave this diſpute to the reader's diſcretion, who, upon examining the reaſons on both ſides, will readily ſee which opinion is the moſt probable.

As Satire ſeems to have arrived to its higheſt perfection in Juvenal, it will not be foreign to the preſent purpoſe to premiſe ſome obſervations on its riſe and progreſs, before we come to treat of Juvenal's Satires in particular.

The *Latin* word *Satira*, whence comes our *Satire*, has nothing in its original ſignification like that which the moderns have affixed to it. Learned men are now agreed, that *Satira* or *Satura* is an adjective depending on the ſubſtantive *Lanx* underſtood, which ſignify together, a basket filled with all ſorts of Fruit. It was afterwards applied to ſignify other different things mixed together. Thus thoſe laws were called *Saturæ leges*, which had ſeveral heads or titles, and a collection of various hiſtories was called *Hiſtoria ſatura*; and when the Senators gave their votes promiſcuouſly together, they were ſaid *per ſaturam ferre ſententias*; and when applied to Poetry, the word retained its ſignification, ſuch Poems as were compoſed on miſcellaneous ſubjects being by the old *Romans* called *Satires*.

As to that kind of Poetry properly ſo called, it was long before it came to any conſiderable Improvement, taking its rude beginning from the coarſe wit and raillery of the people when aſſembled at their harveſt feaſts:

feaſts: and ſomething like was for a long time after kept up among the *Romans* at the time of their celebrating the *Saturnalia*. Theſe ruſtic jeſts were in time improved into their *Feſcennine* verſes; and now there began to be ſomething like Poetry produced on theſe occaſions. They took their name from a town in *Tuſcany*, whoſe natives firſt introduced them among the *Romans*. They were in the nature of dialogues, intermixed with ſongs and dances.

Feſcennina per hunc inventa licentia morem,
Verſibus alternis opprobria ruſtica fudit.
Hence thoſe looſe dialogues at ſolemn feaſts;
Yet ſtill they were but mirth and country jeſts.
Creech.

NOT long after theſe Dialogues the firſt uſe of Satire came in, which was borrowed from the *Greek* ſatirical plays, and were a low kind of Tragi-comedy, but had yet arrived to no exactneſs. From the medley of ſubjects which generally compoſed theſe dramatic pieces, they were called *Satiræ*; but the lewdneſs of the *Feſcennine* verſes was excluded. They were the firſt theatrical repreſentations at *Rome*, and continued in vogue 'till *Livius Andronicus* ſet himſelf, after the manner of the *Greeks*, to write regular plays. This new improvement of his made the Satires fall into contempt and diſuſe for a long time; *Nævius* and others purſuing the ſame method with *Livius* in imitating and tranſlating the *Greek* plays; and *Ennius* did the ſame, but he having a genius to all kinds of Poetry, and an inclination to the old ſatiric pieces, imagined, that if the ſame ſpirit and variety were preſerved in Poems not calculated for the ſtage, it would meet with the public approbation: Accordingly he publiſhed ſome Poems of this ſort, and called them Satires, allowing himſelf the liberty of all kinds of meaſure, as appears from his fragments. *Horace* found ſome things in them worthy of imitation, as *Virgil* did in his Poem on the ſecond *Punic* war. *Pacuvius* who flouriſhed a little after *Ennius*,

followed his method in writing Satires as well as Plays. *Lucilius* who ſucceeded *Pacuvius*, applied himſelf entirely to this kind of Poetry, which he very much improved, by confining himſelf to the Hexameter verſe, and imitating entirely the *Greek* Iambic writers and the old *Greek* comic Poets in the ſharpneſs of his invectives and cenſures. But in *Horace*'s opinion his numbers were rough, his ſtile incorrect, and corrupted by an affectation of mixing *Greek* with *Latin*. But *Quintilian* is of opinion that *Horace* has cenſured him too ſeverely, and ſets him as much above thoſe ſevere cenſures, as he thinks him beneath that applauſe ſome admirers of the old Poets ſtill gave him in his time.

Horace ſucceeded and corrected all his faults, and gave Satire all the perfection that was conſiſtent with his own deſign, which was to be agreeable rather than bitter, to be familiar, inſinuating and inſtructive, and therefore affected a ſtile that ſhould be plain, witty and elegant. *Perſius*, agreeably to the dignity of the *Stoic* philoſophy, which he profeſſed, choſe to inſtruct and reform, rather than pleaſe, and wrote in a higher ſtile: But his ſeverity is too great, and his character is ſo ſerious, that wit misbecomes him, where-ever he ſeems to aim at it. JUVENAL has undoubtedly improved on both: He is elegant and witty with *Horace*, grave and ſublime with *Perſius*, and to both their characters has added the pomp of his own eloquence, which makes him the moſt entertaining, as well as the cleareſt writer of the three. But in this he differs from *Horace*, that as he uſed a low, comic ſtile, JUVENAL raiſes his to the height of tragedy, as he ſays himſelf; which no Satiriſt before him had yet attempted.

Fingimus hæc altum Satira ſumente Cothurnum,
Scilicet & finem aggreſſi, legemque priorum
Grande Sophocleo carmen bacchamur hiatu
Montibus ignotum Rutulis cæloque Latino.

BUT this the Poet does not ſay out of vanity, but led

led to it from the nature of his ſubject; ſo elſewhere he undervalues his Poetry, where he would inſinuate that the wickedneſs of the times would provoke a man to write Satires, even though he had no genius for Poetry.

Si natura negat, facit indignatio verſum
Qualemcunque poteſt; quales ego vel Cluvienus.

It has very juſtly been obſerved, that there never was a greater fall in ſtile, than from the Odes of *Horace* to his Satires; and though he did it with deſign, the indolence of his temper might be one motive to his doing ſo. The ſame indolence made him decline celebrating the praiſes of *Auguſtus* in ſome conſiderable Poem, notwithſtanding the many inſtances that Prince made him to undertake ſuch a work. But this negligence of his ſhould by no means be miſunderſtood as a rule for the ſtile of Satire: And we find the beſt modern Poets among the *Italians*, the *French* and Us, have choſen to imitate Juvenal in this particular rather than *Horace*: for ſurely the magnificence of ſtile and the beauty of numbers will adorn the thoughts, and lively turns and bold figures will add weight and energy to the expreſſions. As to the purity of diction's being on *Horace*'s ſide, that was the fault of the times, not of Juvenal, who ſeems to have been an accompliſhed Orator before he applied himſelf to Poetry. This was *Ovid*'s excellency likewiſe, and yet he was never thought the worſe Poet for it; ſo that they who pretend to find the declamatory ſtile in his writings ſhew their prejudice more than their underſtanding. *Lucan*'s ſtile has more of this vehemence in it, yet I think he is very far from having a proſaic ſtile as well as Juvenal. 'Tis a coldneſs of fancy deſtitute of ſpirit and genius, that makes a Poet loyter into Proſe.

It may be convenient in this place to obviate an objection commonly made to the licentious boldneſs of Juvenal's expreſſions, which is of two kinds; the one, of expoſing men's perſons and names, as

well as their vices; the other, of running into ſubjects not decent to be mentioned, and calling ſome things too plainly by their common names.

In anſwer to the firſt, it may be ſaid, that thoſe he has expoſed, by naming them, were either dead for the moſt part, or perſons ſo loſt to all honour and virtue, that it was a piece of juſtice to lay open their characters; if poſſible, thereby to deter the reſt of the world from imitating their abominable vices: not but that he has often ſuppreſſed their real names, and been content to make them known by deſcribing them, which he took care to do by ſuch diſtinguiſhing marks, that you could not but know who was pointed at.

As to the other point, if he be found guilty of it, he is not to be vindicated nor excuſed for ſo doing: But before it is given againſt him we are to conſider firſt, whether the licentiouſneſs of the times was not ſuch, as might make it neceſſary to cenſure the moſt enormous vices; and ſecondly, whether he has been altogether as broad in his expreſſions as is commonly imagined.

With regard to the firſt, it is evident, no age of the world more openly gloried in the moſt infamous debauchery than that he lived in the former part of his life: And if the end of Satire is a reformation of manners, it were an idle attempt to think to effect it, by Innuendo's and a few general hints. Such men were to be ſtung home and cut to the quick to make their callous minds the leaſt ſenſible of the vileneſs of their manners. But when all the monſtrous circumſtances of the lewd ſcene were ſtrongly painted and expoſed to public view in the blackeſt colours, then guilt muſt ſurely fly in their faces for what they had committed, and their conſciences muſt awake from that lethargy in which they had been laid; as he ſays it happened to the great men at *Rome*, whom *Lucilius* had expoſed ſome ages before.

Enſe velut ſtricto quoties Lucilius ardens

Infremuit,

Infremuit, rubet auditor, cui frigida mens eſt
Criminibus, tacita ſudant præcordia culpa. Sat. 1.

But when *Lucilius* brandiſhes his pen,
And flaſhes in the face of guilty men,
A cold ſweat ſtands in drops on ev'ry part.
Dryden.

As to his expreſſions, it does not appear that he has not avoided the more groſs expreſſions, though the general practice of the antients was too licentious in this particular: But I might juſtify the Satiriſt much better, by urging the authority of ſome of the Fathers, who thought themſelves obliged in direct terms many times to expoſe the obſcene ceremonies and lewd mythology of the Heathens: as in a lethargy the ſtrongeſt and moſt offenſive ſmells are ſometimes applied to provoke the patient to ſneeze. And what other way was ſufficient to diſcountenance the enormities that were become almoſt the common practice, by the deteſtable example and encouragement of *Nero*'s and *Domitian*'s court. *Lucilius* had practiſed this method before ſucceſsfully in much better times; and the liberty of the old *Greek* Comedy had been found uſeful to the public at *Athens*, or it would not have continued 'till the thirty tyrants ſet up by the *Lacedemonians* thought fit to reſtrain it, that their oppreſſions might not be made public and expoſed on the theatre. That *Lucilius* imitated this liberty of the *Greek* Poets, we are aſſured by *Horace*.

Eupolis, atque Cratinus, Ariſtophaneſque Poetæ,
Atque alij quorum Comœdia priſca virorum eſt,
Si quis erat dignus deſcribi quod malus, aut fur,
Quod mœchus foret, aut ſicarius, aut alioqui
Famoſus, multa cum libertate notabant.
Hinc omnis pendet Lucilius, hoſce ſecutus.
Lib. 1. Sat. 4. Ver. 1.

Cratin and *Eupolis* that laſh'd the age,
Thoſe old Comedian Furies of the Stage,
If they were to deſcribe a vile, unjuſt,
And cheating knave, or ſcourge a lawleſs luſt,

Or other crimes; regardleſs of his fame
They ſhow'd the man, and boldly told his name.
This is *Lucilius'* way, he follows thoſe. *Creech.*

After all that has been alledged, this licentious ſtile is not juſtifiable, even in the beſt light we can place it, and is what no polite writer, to ſay no more, will attempt to imitate.

But let us now look into ſome paſſages of Juvenal's Satires, which will naturally help us to diſcover his principles and genius: for a man of his impetuous ſpirit ſeems hardly capable of diſguiſing his real ſentiments. In this view he will appear a true generous ſpirited *Roman*, a friend to liberty and virtue. How finely does he enforce the neceſſity, as well as ſhew the advantage of moderation, with reſpect to the deſire of riches! yet in the midſt of the ſevereſt precepts he diſcovers a rational regard for the weakneſs of human nature, which cannot content it ſelf with the meer neceſſaries of life.

——Menſura tamen quæ
Sufficiat cenſus, ſi quis me conſulit, edam:
In quantum ſitis atque fames & frigora poſcunt,
Quantum, Epicure, tibi parvis ſuffecit in hortis,
Quantum Socratici ceperunt ante Penates.
Nunquam aliud natura, aliud ſapientia dicit:
Acribus exemplis videor te claudere: miſce
Ergo aliquid noſtris de moribus; effice ſummam
Bis ſeptem ordinibus quam lex dignatur Othonis.
Hæc quoque ſi rugam trahit, extenditque labellum,
Sume duos equites; fac tertia quadringenta.
Si nondum implevi gremium, ſi panditur ultra.
Nec Cræſi fortuna unquam, nec Perſica regna
Sufficient animo, nec divitiæ Narciſſi.

Sat. 14. Ver. 317.

Upon mentioning *Narciſſus* that wicked and overgrown favourite of the Emperor *Claudius*, he cannot forbear adding two lines to ſhew the weakneſs of the Prince, and to what monſtrous degree the favourite abuſed it.

Indulſit

Indulſit Cæſar cui Claudius omnia, cujus
Paruit imperiis uxorem occidere juſſus.

If any ask me what would ſatisfy,
To make life eaſy, I would thus reply:
As much as keeps out hunger, thirſt, and cold,
Or what contented *Socrates* of old;
As much as made wiſe *Epicurus* bleſt,
Who in ſmall gardens ſpacious realms poſſeſt.
This is what Nature's wants may well ſuffice,
He that wou'd more, is covetous, not wiſe.
But ſince among mankind ſo few there are,
Who will conform to Philoſophic fare;
Thus much I will indulge thee for thy eaſe,
And mingle ſomething of our times to pleaſe:
Therefore enjoy a plentiful eſtate,
As much as will a Knight of *Rome* create,
By *Roſcian* law: and if that will not do,
Double, and take as much as will make two;
Nay, three, to ſatisfy thy laſt deſire:
But if to more than this thou doſt aſpire,
Believe me, all the riches of the Eaſt,
The wealth of *Cræſus* cannot make thee bleſt.
The treaſure *Claudius* to *Narciſſus* gave
Would make thee, *Claudius* like, an arrant ſlave,
Who to obey his mighty Minion's will
Did his lov'd Empreſs *Meſſalina* kill. *Dryden.*

Such unexpected ſtrokes of Satire as this on *Claudius* and *Narciſſus* are frequent in this Poet, and always happily introduced. I know none of them of a more agreeable turn than the following, where he ſeems only to uſe that common figure among Poets, when they would make the reader conceive how impoſſible it is for them to deſcribe ſome extraordinary circumſtance, as it deſerves. *Boileau* in his *Lutrin*, *Garth* in his *Diſpenſary*, and Mr. *Pope* in his *Dunciad*, have very ſucceſsfully imitated this as well as many other of Juvenal's beauties.

——*Circumſilet agmine facto*
Morborum omne genus, quorum ſi nomina quæras,
Promptius

Promptius expediam; quot amaverit Hippia mœchos;
Quot Themiſon ægros autumno occiderit uno;
Quot Baſilus ſocios; quot circumſcripſerit Hirrus
Pupillos, &c.——— Sat. 10. Ver. 218.

In fine, he wears no limb about him ſound,
With ſores and ſickneſſes beleaguer'd round:
Ask me their names, I ſooner could relate
How many drudges on ſalt *Hippia* wait;
What crowds of patients the Town-Doctor kills;
Or how laſt Fall he rais'd the weekly Bills:
What provinces by *Baſilus* were ſpoil'd;
What hords of heirs by guardians are beguil'd.
Dryden.

THE uncommon ſeverity and impartiality of his Satire is well worth our notice in JUVENAL. So where he has occaſion to cenſure the profane abuſe of the moſt ſolemn oaths among the *Romans*, who had formerly paid ſo religious a regard to them, he at the ſame time expoſes ſome of the abſurd and ridiculous forms of ſwearing then in uſe among them. The tranſlator was forced to omit them, as not being able to render them without ſuch circumlocutions as would have been both dull and tedious.

——*Aſpice quanta*
Voce negat, quæ ſit fidi conſtantia vultus!
Per Solis radios, Tarpeïaque fulmina jurat,
Et Martis frameam, & Cyrrhæi ſpicula vatis.
Per calamos venatrices pharetramque Puellæ,
Perque tuum, pater Ægei Neptune, Tridentem;
Addit & Herculeos arcus, haſtamque Minervæ:
Quicquid habent telorum armamentaria Cæli.
Sat. 13. Ver. 76.

Obſerve the wretch who has his faith forſook,
How clear his voice, and how aſſur'd his look
Like Innocence, and as ſerenely bold
As Truth; how loudly he forſwears his gold!
By *Neptune*'s Trident, by the Bolt of *Jove*,
And all the magazine of wrath above! *Dryden.*

In

In the ſame Satire, whereas according to the heathen opinion *Jupiter* was wont to expreſs his indignation at the wickedneſs of men, by a loud voice, as *Homer* tells us; Juvenal very boldly ridicules this notion, and the folly of worſhipping ſo many uſeleſs and ſenſeleſs images of the Gods. At *Rome* it is to be obſerved that their number was almoſt infinite; for the *Romans* very politically adopted the Gods of all the conquered nations for their own.

——————*Audis*
Jupiter hæc, nec labra moves? cum mittere vocem
Debueris, vel marmoreus, vel æneus; aut cur
In carbone tuo charta pia thura ſoluta
Ponimus, & ſectum vituli jecur, albaque porci
Omenta? ut video, nullum diſcrimen habendum eſt,
Effigies inter veſtras ſtatuamque Bathylli.
Sat. 13. Ver. 113.

Jove doſt thou hear, and is thy thunder tame?
Wert thou all braſs, thy brazen arm ſhould rage
And fix the wretch a ſign to future age;
Elſe why ſhould mortals to thy feaſt repair,
Spend uſeleſs incenſe, and more uſeleſs pray'r?
Bathillus' ſtatue at this rate may prove
Thy equal rival, or a greater *Jove*. *Dryden.*

A little before in the ſame Satire, the Poet, ſpeaking of the innocence of the golden age, gives a ludicrous account of the many Deities, with whoſe worſhip the world had not yet been troubled, and concludes his deſcription with this ſevere reflection on their numbers in his time.

——————*Nec turba Deorum*
Talis ut eſt hodie, contentaque ſidera paucis
Numinibus, miſerum urgebant Atlanta minore
Pondere——————— Sat. 13. Ver. 46.

E'er Gods grew numerous, and the heav'nly crowd
Preſs'd wretched *Atlas* with a lighter load.
Dryden.

And the Poet has elſewhere no leſs truly than ſeverely

verely expoſed the infamous character of the greateſt of thoſe Deities.

Quis tamen affirmet nihil actum in montibus, aut in Speluncis? adeo ſenuerunt Jupiter & Mars?
Sat. 6. Ver. 58.

And yet ſome luſtful God might there make bold;
Are *Jove* and *Mars* grown impotent and old?
Dryden.

Shall I call it art, or a happy genius, that though he generally rails, and is full of the ſharpeſt invectives, yet Juvenal is as witty and perhaps more diverting than *Horace*, who ſtudied to be ſo? It is certain he ſeldom fails to provoke your laughter, even whilſt he is raiſing your indignation; which talent of his is evidently ſeen in the three laſt quotations.

But when he is wholly bent upon moving his reader, his colours are ſo ſtrong, and his figures ſo bold, that you are ſoon wrought up to the ſame pitch of indignation with him. Such is the following paſſage.

Cum tener uxorem ducat ſpado, Mævia Tuſcum
Figat aprum, & nuda teneat venabula mamma;
Patricios omnes opibus cum provocet unus,
Quo tondente gravis juveni mihi barba cadebat:
Cum pars Niliacæ plebis, cum verna Canopi
Criſpinus, Tyrias humero revocante lacernas,
Ventilet æſtivum digitis ſudantibus aurum,
Nec ſufferre queat majoris pondera gemmæ;
Difficile eſt Satiram non ſcribere: nam quis iniquæ
Tam patiens urbis, tam ferreus, ut teneat ſe?
Sat. 1. Ver. 22.

When ſapleſs Eunuchs mount the marriage bed,
When manniſh *Mævia*, that two-handed whore,
Aſtride on horſe-back hunts the *Tuſcan* boar,
When all our lords are by his wealth outvy'd,
Whoſe raſor on my callow beard was try'd;
When I behold the ſpawn of conquer'd *Nile*
Criſpinus, both in birth and manners vile,

Pacing

Pacing in pomp with cloak of *Tyrian* die
Chang'd oft a day for needleſs luxury,
And finding oft occaſion to be fan'd,
Ambitious to produce his Lady-hand:
Charg'd with light ſummer rings his fingers ſweat,
Unable to ſupport a Gem of weight.
Such fulſome objects meeting ev'ry where.
To view ſo lewd a town, and to refrain,
What hoops of Iron could my ſpleen contain!

Dryden.

THO' I am contending all this while for JUVENAL's ſuperiority in Satire among the *Romans*, yet I confeſs it ſeems eaſier for a man to give a looſe to his juſt indignation, and ſtir up the paſſions by the bittereſt ſtrokes of Satire, than with *Horace* genteely to reprove and artfully blame the fault, without ſo much as alarming the offender; as it is eaſier to cut off than reſtore a corrupted limb. At the ſame time it ſeems to me, that the firſt way is moſt natural, and with the profligate and vicious moſt effectual, as the latter is more artful, and fitteſt to be practiſed in a civil ſociety. In ſhort, had *Horace* been a worſe courtier, he would have been more ſevere, and JUVENAL might have been more moderate had he lived in better times. Men were not very virtuous in the reign of *Auguſtus*, nor was the ſanctity of his or *Mecænas*'s manners ſo very remarkable: They had their vices and failings like other men, but what they acted in private they diſcountenanced in public, thereby avoiding that ſcandal, which was the reproach of *Nero*'s and *Domitian*'s government. Accordingly *Horace*'s Satires are fitter to form the diſcreet and well-bred man than the good and virtuous. But JUVENAL's writings at leaſt recommend the nobleſt virtues, and purſue vice through all its ſhapes and diſguiſes. He betrays no partial indulgence to himſelf or his friends, but keeping ſtrictly to the buſineſs of Satire, cenſures the whole compaſs of human actions that deviate from the rules of honour and virtue.

Quicquid

Quicquid agunt homines, votum, timor, ira, voluptas,
Gaudia, diſcurſus, noſtri ferrago libelli. Sat. 186.

What human kind deſires, and what they ſhun,
Rage, paſſions, pleaſures, impotence of will,
Shall this ſatirical collection fill. *Dryden.*

As what has been already quoted is ſufficient to ſhow his talent for Satire, we may proceed to give ſome inſtances of that ſublime moral and greatneſs of ſentiments, that adorn his writings. *Perſius* is his rival in this, but wants his graceful manner of recommending virtue. His tenth Satire is inimitable for the excellency of its morality and ſublime ſentiments. In the beginning of it, having diſplayed the great vanity of our deſires, in anſwer to ſuch as might enquire of him what wiſhes men might innocently make, he thus expreſſes himſelf, in the concluſion of the Satire, like an Oracle. How magnificently as well as rationally does he ſpeak of the Divine Goodneſs!

———*Si conſilium vis,*
Permittes ipſis expendere numinibus, quid
Conveniat nobis, rebuſque ſit utile noſtris.
Nam pro jucundis aptiſſima quæque dabunt Dij.
Carior eſt illis homo, quam ſibi: nos animorum
Impulſu, & cæca magnaque cupidine ducti
Conjugium petimus, partumque uxoris; at illis
Notum, qui pueri, qualiſque futura ſit uxor.
Ut tamen & poſcas aliquid, voveaſque ſacellis
Exta, & candiduli divina tomacula Porci:
Orandum eſt, ut ſit mens ſana in corpore ſano:
Fortem poſce animum, & mortis terrore carentem;
Qui ſpatium vitæ extremum inter munera ponat
Naturæ, qui ferre queat quoſcunque labores;
Neſciat iraſci, cupiat nihil, & potiores
Herculis ærumnas credat ſævoſque labores,
Et Venere, & cœnis, & plumis Sardinapali.
Monſtro quod ipſe tibi poſſis dare: ſemita certe
Tranquillæ per virtutem patet unica vitæ.
Nullum numen abeſt, ſi ſit prudentia, ſed te

Nos

Nos facimus Fortuna Deam, cæloque locamus.
Sat. 10. Ver. 346.

Receive my counſel, and ſecurely move;
Intruſt thy fortune to the pow'rs above;
Leave them to manage for thee, and to grant
What their unerring wiſdom ſees thee want:
In goodneſs as in greatneſs they excell;
Ah! that we lov'd our ſelves but half ſo well!
We blindly, by our headſtrong paſſions led,
Are hot for action, and deſire to wed;
Then wiſh for heirs; but to the Gods alone
Our future offspring and our wives are known.
Yet not to rob the Prieſts of pious gain,
That altars be not wholly built in vain;
Forgive the Gods the reſt, and ſtand confin'd
To health of body and content of mind:
A ſoul, that can ſecurely death defy,
And count it nature's privilege to die;
Serene and manly, harden'd to ſuſtain
The load of life, and exercis'd in pain:
Guiltleſs of hate, and proof againſt deſire;
That all things weighs, and nothing can admire:
That dares prefer the toils of *Hercules*
To dalliance, banquets, and ignoble eaſe.
The path to peace is virtue: what I ſhow,
Thy ſelf may freely on thy ſelf beſtow. DRYDEN.

In the preceding part of this Satire he had ſhewn the uncertainty of human greatneſs, and the cruel inconſtancy of the public hatred or favour in the fall of *Sejanus*, that overgrown favourite of *Tiberius*.

Jam ſtridunt ignes, jam follibus atque caminis
Ardet adoratum populo caput, & crepat ingens
Sejanus, deinde ex facie toto orbe ſecunda
Fiunt urceoli, pelves, ſartago, Patellæ.
Pone domi laurus, duc in Capitolia magnum
Cretatumque bovem: Sejanus ducitur unco
Spectandus; gaudent omnes: quæ labra! quis illi
Vultus erat? nunquam (ſi quid mihi credis) amavi
Hunc hominem: ſed quo cecidit ſub crimine? quiſnam
Delator?

Delator? quibus indicijs! quo teſte probavit?
Nil horum: verboſa & grandis epiſtola venit
A Capreis: bene habet, nil plus interrogo: ſed quid
Turba Remi? ſequitur fortunam, ut ſemper, & odit
Damnatos—— Sat. 10. Ver. 51.

Sejanus almoſt firſt of *Roman* Names,
The great *Sejanus* crackles in the flames.
Form'd in the forge, the pliant braſs is laid
On anvils, and of head and limbs are made,
Pans, cans, and piſs-pots, a whole kitchen trade.
Adorn your doors with lawrels, and a bull
Milk-white and large lead to the Capitol;
Sejanus with a rope is drag'd along,
The ſport and laughter of the giddy throng.
Good Lord! they cry, what *Æthiops* lips he has!
How foul a ſnout, and what a hanging face!
By Heav'n, I never could endure his ſight:
But ſay, how came his monſtrous crimes to light?
What is the charge? and who the evidence,
The ſaviour of the Nation and the Prince?
Nothing of this: but our old *Cæſar* ſent
A noiſy letter to his parliament.
Nay, Sirs, if *Cæſar* wrote, I ask no more,
He's guilty, and the queſtion's out of door.
How goes the mob, for that's a mighty thing?
When the King's trump, the mob are for the King;
They follow fortune; and the common cry
Is ſtill againſt the rogue condemn'd to die.

Dryden.

THE Poet proceeding to ſhew the inſatiableneſs of human deſires, inſtances in the vain ambition of *Hannibal* and *Alexander*.

Expende Hannibalem: quot libras in duce ſumma
Invenies? hic eſt, quem non capit Africa Mauro
Perfuſa oceano, Niloque admota tepenti.
Rurſus ad Æthiopas populos, altoſque Elephantos,
Additur imperijs Hiſpania: Pyrenæum
Tranſilit; oppoſuit natura Alpemque, nivemque,
Diduxit

Diduxit ſcopulos, & montem rupit aceto.
Jam tenet Italiam; tamen ultra tendere pergit;
Actum, inquit, nihil eſt, niſi Pæno milite portas
Frangimus, & media vexillum pono Suburra.
O qualis facies, & quali digna tabella,
Cum Getula ducem portaret bellua luſcum!
Exitus ergo quis eſt? O Gloria! vincitur idem
Nempe & in exilium præceps fugit, atque ibi magnus
Mirandusque cliens ſedet ad Tentoria regis,
Donec Bythino libeat vigilare Tyranno.
Finem animæ, quæ res humanas miſcuit olim,
Non gladij, non ſaxa dabunt, non tela; ſed ille
Cannarum vindex, & tanti ſanguinis auctor
Annulus: I demens, & ſævas curre per Alpes
Ut pueris placeas & declamatio fias.
Unus Pellæo juveni non ſufficit orbis.
Æſtuat infelix anguſto limite mundi,
Ut Gyaræ clauſus ſcopulis, parvoque Seriphe.
Cum tamen a figulis munitam intraverit urbem
Sarcophago contentus erit. Mors ſola fatetur
Quantula ſint hominum cupuſcula———

Sat. 10. Ver. 147.

Great *Hannibal* within the balance lay,
And tell how many pounds his aſhes weigh;
Whom *Afric* was not able to contain,
Whoſe length runs level to th' *Atlantic* main,
And wearies fruitful *Nilus* to convey
The ſun-beat waters by ſo long a way;
Which *Æthiopia*'s double clime divides,
And elephants in other mountains hides.
Spain firſt he won, the *Pyreneans* paſt,
And ſteepy *Alps*, the mounds that nature caſt;
And with corroding juices, as he went,
A paſſage thro' the living rocks he rent.
Then like a torrent rolling from on high
He pours his headlong rage on *Italy*,
In three victorious battles over-run;
Yet ſtill uneaſy, cries, There's nothing done,
'Till level with the ground their gates are laid,
And *Punic* flags on *Roman* tow'rs diſplay'd.

Ask what a face belong'd to his high fame,
His picture ſcarcely would deſerve a frame:
A ſign-poſt drawber would diſdain to paint
The one-ey'd Heroe on his Elephant.
Now what's his end, O charming glory, ſay,
What rare firſt act to crown his huffing play?
In one deciding battle overcome,
He flies, is baniſh'd from his native home:
Begs refuge in a foreign court, and there
Attends his mean petition to prefer,
Repuls'd by ſurly grooms, who wait before
The ſleeping tyrant's interdicted door.
What wondrous ſort of death has heav'n deſign'd
Diſtinguiſh'd from the reſt of human-kind
For ſo untam'd, ſo turbulent a mind!
Nor ſwords at hand, nor hiſſing darts afar;
But poiſon drawn thro' a ring's hollow plate
Muſt finiſh him; a ſucking infant's fate.
Go, climb the *Alps*, ambitious fool,
To pleaſe the boys, and be a theme at ſchool.
One world ſuffic'd not *Alexander*'s mind,
Coop'd up he ſeem'd in earth and ſeas confin'd;
And ſtruggling, ſtretch'd his reſtleſs limbs about
The narrow Globe, to find a paſſage out.
Yet enter'd in the Brick-built town, he try'd
The tomb, and found the ſtreight dimenſions wide.
Death only this myſterious truth unfolds,
The mighty ſoul how ſmall a body holds. *Dryden.*

WERE I reſolved to take notice of all the fine paſſages to be found in JUVENAL, I muſt tranſcribe the greater part of his Satires. I will conclude all with that fine obſervation in the 13th Satire on the danger of vicious courſes, becauſe of the very great difficulty of leaving off any ill habits once contracted.

Mobilis & varia eſt ferme natura malorum,
Cum ſcelus admittunt ſupereſt conſtantia, quid fas,
Atque nefas, tandem incipiunt ſentire, peractis
Criminibus; tamen ad mores natura recurrit
Damnatos, fixa, & mutari neſcia; nam quis

Peccandi finem posuit sibi? quando recepit
Ejectum semel attrita de fronte pudorem.

Sat. 13. Ver. 236.

He that once sins, like him that slides on ice,
Goes swiftly down the slippery ways of vice;
Tho' conscience checks, yet those rubs once gone o'er,
He slides on smoothly and looks back no more.
What sinners finish, where they just begin!
And with one crime content their lust to sin!
Nature, that rude, and in her first essay
Stood boggling at the roughness of the way,
Us'd to the road, unknowing to return,
Goes boldly on, and loves the path when worn.

Dryden.

THE

THE LIFE OF AUSONIUS.

DECIMUS MAGNUS AUSONIUS PÆONIUS was a native of *Bourdeaux* in *France*. His Father *Julius Auſonius* was a man no leſs celebrated for his skill in Phyſic than for his eloquence in the *Greek* language, to which he had ſo cloſely applied himſelf, that he had almoſt neglected the *Latin*. He lived thirty ſix years with his wife *Æmilia Æonia*, by whom he had two ſons and a daughter. Our author was the ſecond ſon. His elder brother got conſiderable preferment, having at different times been Governour of *Gaul*, *Africa*, and *Italy*. And even his father, whoſe great moderation rather inclined him to a retired life, was ſome years before his death made Governour of *Illyricum*. He lived to eighty eight years of age, ſtill healthy and vigorous to ſuch a degree, as to be able to diſcharge all the duties of publick life. This *Julius Auſonius*, together with *Cæcilius Argicius Arboreus* our Author's wife's father, had been forced to fly their country, being Chriſtians, upon a cruel perſecution and proſcription under the tyrant *Tetricus*.

Arboreus is ſaid to have been a man of profound learning, and particularly well verſed in Aſtrology, which had engaged him to caſt his Grandſon's nativity, but never diſcovered it to his family. Some years

years after his death, his daughter accidentally found it among his papers; in which he expreſſed himſelf as having been much comforted for the loſs of his only ſon, who died at thirty years of age, by the glorious proſpect which the happy conjunction of young Auſonius's Planets gave him, of his future advancement and dignity.

These and many other particulars relating to ſome of his family are to be met with in Auſonius's book of *Parentalia*, a Poem, ſo called becauſe he therein has gratefully commemorated the virtues and characters of his Relations; and it is in one of theſe Poems, in honour of his Grandfather *Arboreus*, that the Poet mentions his having caſt his Nativity.

Tu cæli numeros & conſcia ſidera fati
Callebas, ſtudium diſſimulanter agens.
Non ignota tibi noſtræ quoque formula Vitæ,
Signatis quam tu condideras tabulis.
Prodita non unquam; ſed matris cura retexit
Sedula, quam timidi cura tegebat avi.
Dicebas ſed te ſolatia longa fovere,
Quod mea præcipuus fata maneret honos:
Et modo conſilijs animarum mixte piorum
Fata tui certe nota nepotis habes.
Sentis quod quæſtor, quod te Præfectus, & idem
Conſul, honorifico munere commemoro.

How Stars in various aſpects when combin'd
Explain the deſtiny of human kind,
Was thine to know, and knowing, to conceal
That ſcience, others would with pride reveal.
My Horoſcope became thy care, which ſhow'd
What Fates hereafter for thy Grandſon flow'd.
A Mother's fondneſs found, and durſt unfold
That ſecret ſcheme, for thee ev'n now untold.
The tablets, when unſeal'd, betray'd thy mind,
Thy joy, for what my happy fates deſign'd:
O thou, who, 'midſt the bleſſed choir above,
Thy art confirm'd, may'ſt now ſecure approve;
Receive theſe honours which thy Grandſon pays,
Who Quæſtor, Præfect, Conſul, ſings thy praiſe.

We have no ſufficient authority exactly to fix the time of Ausonius's birth, but without much fear of error we may place it about the year of Chriſt 320. At thirty years of age he was called to teach Grammar in the public ſchools at *Bourdeaux*, he behaved ſo much to the general ſatisfaction in this employ, that a few years after he was elected Profeſſor of Rhetoric there; and after ſome years ſpent in promoting theſe ſtudies, during which he had acquired an univerſal reputation, he was ſent for by the Emperor *Valentinian* the Elder to inſtruct his Son *Gratian*, whom he aſſociated with him in the Empire in the year 369. Ausonius wanted neither merit nor addreſs to ingratiate himſelf with the Emperor and his royal pupils; for he ſoon afterwards had the care of *Gratian*'s brother *Valentinian* II. that he not only obtained the higheſt dignities for himſelf, but had credit enough to prefer all his Relations to the moſt honourable poſts in the Empire. *Valentinian* made him *Quæſtor*, and *Gratian* had not been long aſſociated, before he made him Præfect, firſt of *Italy*, and then of *Gaul* in the year 376, and in 381, he was created Conſul. Ausonius lived to a happy old age. Some years before his death he had retired to *Bourdeaux* his native City, probably not 'till after his Patron the Emperor *Gratian* was murdered by the tyrant *Maximus*, which happened in the year 385.

Juvenal in one of his Satires thought he had advanced a very improbable inſtance of the moſt extravagant power of Fortune, when he ſaid,

Si Fortuna volet, fies de Rhetore Conſul.
Sat. 7. Ver. 197.

I leave it to the reader to judge, whether it would have provoked his laughter or indignation moſt to ſee his prediction verified in the perſon of Ausonius, who from an obſcure Profeſſor of Rhetoric, was raiſed to the Conſulſhip.

Before we enter upon the character of our Author as a Poet, it may be proper to obviate what *Voſſius* and ſome other Critics have advanced, to prove that

Auſonius

Auſonius was a Heathen. He pretends to ſhew this from the Epiſtles of *Paulinus* to him: But I think the following lines, wherein that holy man juſtifies his retirement to his friend Ausonius is a good argument of the contrary.

Non reor hoc ſancto ſic diſplicuiſſe parenti,
Mentis ut errorem credat ſic vivere Chriſto.

Where *Paulinus*'s words mean that he cannot think his holy friend (whom as having been his inſtructor he calls *Parens* Father) could think an error of underſtanding to live ſo to Chriſt, that is, condemn his retirement from the world, which he did, the better to diſcharge, as he thought, the great duties of Chriſtianity. *Paulinus* urges this motive of his retirement, as what he thinks will juſtify him to Ausonius, who condemned his quitting a public life. But Ausonius ſtill perſiſted in his opinion, which ſurely he might do without derogating to his reſpect for Chriſtianity, which being then ſupported and encouraged by Chriſtian Princes, could not furniſh *Paulinus* with thoſe reaſons for his retreat, which had induced the primitive Chriſtians to embrace the anchoret and monaſtic life, namely to ſhelter themſelves from perſecution and avoid the fiery trial. But the following lines of the ſame *Paulinus* poſitively aſſert, that ſuch was the tenderneſs of their mutual affection, ſpeaking of himſelf and of *Auſonius*, that they were as unanimous in all other things as they were in their zeal for Chriſtianity.

Inque tuo tantus nobis conſenſus amore eſt
Quantus & in Chriſto connexa mente colendo.

I might uſe other arguments to prove his being a Chriſtian, as from his education under two Aunts remarkable for their Chriſtian Piety, and from his educating *Gratian* a Chriſtian Prince of great piety.

In his old age and at the requeſt of the Emperor *Theodoſius* the Great, Ausonius publiſhed a compleat collection of his Poems. That Prince's letter to him on this occaſion is yet extant, which I am willing to

produce, as an inſtance of the great credit in which Ausonius lived, and of the politeneſs of that Emperor's taſte, though he had been bred a ſoldier from his infancy. The language indeed is not very elegant, which could not be expected of a *Spaniſh* Officer in the fourth century. But we ſhall ſee by his letter, that by a long and faithful ſervice he had learned to govern well and command with a good grace.

Theodosius Augustus, Ausonio Parenti, *Salutem.*

AMOR meus qui in te eſt, & admiratio ingenii atque eruditionis tuæ, quæ multo maxima ſunt, fecit, parens jucundiſſime, ut morem aliis principibus ſolitum ſequeſtrarem; familiaremque ſermonem autographum ad te tranſmitterem, poſtulans, pro jure, non quidem regio, ſed illius privatæ inter nos charitatis, ne fraudari me ſcriptorum tuorum lectione patiaris, quæ olim mihi cognita, & jam per tempus oblita, rurſum deſidero; non ſolum ut quæ ſunt nota recolantur, ſed ut ea, quæ fama celebri adjecta memorantur, accipiam. Quæ tu de promptuario Scriniorum, qui me amas, libens impertiare, ſecutus exempla auctorum optimorum, quibus par eſſe meruiſti, qui Octaviano Auguſto *rerum potienti, certatim opera ſua tradebant, nullo fine in ejus honorem multa condentes. Qui, illos haud ſciam, an æqualiter, ac ego te, admiratus ſit, certe non amplius diligebat. Vale* Parens.

It was common among the Ancients to compliment the perſon who had educated them with the title of *Father*, and the Maſter took the ſame pleaſure in calling his Pupil *Son:* But I cannot ſee why *Theodoſius* called *Auſonius* Father, unleſs in reſpect to his Colegue the Emperor *Gratian*; for *Theodoſius* was General under *Valentinian* before *Auſonius* was made Præceptor to *Gratian.*

"*The Emperor* Theodoſius, *to* Auſonius *his Father, greeting.*

"THE love I bear you, added to the great opinion "I have of your fine genius and learning, "have

" have induced me, dear Father, to lay aſide the ſtate " of a Sovereign, and to ſend you a familiar letter of " my own hand writing, to deſire you as a pledge of " our private friendſhip, not out of any regard to my " dignity, to deprive me no longer of the pleaſure of " reading your works. I have formerly ſeen ſome of " them, and am now deſirous to renew my knowledge " of them; but you muſt likewiſe ſend me thoſe other " pieces of yours, which, as being of a later date, " are only known to me by their reputation in the " world. I flatter my ſelf with your ready compliance " with this requeſt, in imitation of thoſe excellent " writers, to whom you are deſervedly compared, who " ſought all occaſions of preſenting their compoſitions " to *Auguſtus Octavianus*, and were continually pub- " liſhing ſomething new in his praiſe. I cannot ſay " whether he valued them as much as I do you: I am " ſure he could not have more affection for them, " than I have for you. Farewell.

It is eaſy to diſcover the true occaſion of this letter to Ausonius: It was not meerly to have his works, which having been publiſhed already, he might have had elſewhere; nor was it a bare compliment: It was to engage Ausonius, who perhaps was eſteemed the beſt Poet of the age, to write ſomething that would convey his name with honour to poſterity: and that Prince uſed the moſt powerful argument to prevail with him, by comparing him with the excellent Poets of the *Auguſtan* age, who ſtrove to ſurpaſs each other in celebrating the praiſes of *Auguſtus*. Whether *Theodoſius* ſucceeded is uncertain, ſince we find nothing among Ausonius's works immediately addreſſed to him, but the Poem prefixed by way of Dedication to the reſt of the Poems, which he ſent as that Prince had deſired: in which there might ſeem an obſcure promiſe of the Poet to gratify ſome time or other the Emperor's deſire.

Agricolam ſi flava Ceres dare ſemina terræ,
Gradivus jubeat ſi capere arma ducem.

Solvere de portu claſſem Neptunus inermem;
Fidere tam fas eſt, quam dubitare nefas.
Inſanum quamvis hyemet mare, erudaque tellus
Seminibus, bello nec ſit aperta manus.
Nil dubites autore bono: mortalia quærunt
Conſilium; certus juſſa capeſſe Dei.
Scribere me Auguſtus jubet, & mea carmina poſcit.
Pene rogans, blando vis latet imperio.
Non habeo id genii: Cæſar ſed juſſit, habebo:
Cur me poſſe negem, poſſe quod ille putat?
Invalidas vires ipſe excitat, & juvat, idem
Qui jubet: obſequium ſufficit eſſe meum.
Non tutum renuiſſe Deo: laudata pudoris
Sæpe mora eſt, quoties contra parem dubitas.
Quin etiam non juſſa parant erumpere dudum
Carmina: quis nolit Cæſaris eſſe liber?
Ne ferat indignum Vatem, centumque lituras
Mutandas ſemper deteriore nota.
Tu modo te juſſiſſe, pater Romane, memento;
Inque tuis culpis da tibi tu veniam.

Though Auſonius was very old when he ſent this with his other Poems, he ſhews he had not loſt his fire, which if it never blazed out with great brightneſs, had this advantage, that it maintained its vigour to the laſt; which was the reaſon I choſe to quote it at length. Here follows the tranſlation.

Tho' bad the ſeaſon, yet at *Ceres'* will
Th' obedient hind prepares his lands to till.
If *Neptune* bid the Maſter ſpread his ſails,
He ſoon obeys, nor dreads the wintry gales.
At *Mars'* command the Chief leads on to fight,
Nor doubts ſucceſs; for Gods muſt order right.
So when great *Cæſar* asks the Muſe to ſing,
Such condeſcenſion muſt obedience bring.
In vain ſhe pleads her want of tuneful art,
The Prince requeſting ſhall enough impart:
His good opinion may the Muſe ſuffice,
What he has once approv'd who dare deſpiſe?
When equals ask, 'tis modeſt to deny;
But duty bids us with the Gods comply.

My

My works, which had before eſſay'd to fly
The Poets alt'ring hand and Critic eye,
Now grown ambitious liberty proclaim
Aloud, and in excuſe plead *Cæſar*'s name.
Then mighty Prince, with juſt indulgence view
Such faults as partly owe their birth to you.

Though Ausonius's works do not appear ſo excellent to us, it is certain *Theodoſius* was not the only one who admired his Poetry, and compared him to the writers of the *Auguſtan* Age. Not to mention his favourite ſcholar *Paulinus*, ſome of whoſe letters very much in his praiſe are extant among his works, *Symmachus* a perſon of the higheſt quality and learning, as well as integrity and worth, has ſaid the ſame of Ausonius, on occaſion of his excellent Poem on the *Moſelle*, a famous River that runs through part of *France* and *Flanders*. His letter to Ausonius about this Poem is commonly placed before it as a kind of Preface, and is as follows.

Symmachus, Ausonio ſuo, *Salutem.*

PEtis a me literas longiores: eſt hoc in noſtri amoris indicium: ſed ego qui ſum pauperrimi mei ingenij conſcius, Laconicæ malo ſtudere brevitati, quam multijugis paginis infantiæ meæ maciem publicare. Nec mirum ſi eloquij noſtri vena tenuata eſt, quam dudum neque ullius poematis tui, neque pedeſtrium voluminum lectione juviſti. Unde igitur ſermonis mei largam poſcis uſuram cui nihil literati fœnoris credidiſti? Volitat Moſella tuus per manus ſinuſque multorum divinis a te verſibus conſecratus. Sed tantum noſtra ora prælabitur. Cur memet iſtius libelli quæſo exortem eſſe voluiſti? aut Ἀμυσότιρ *tibi videbar, qui judicare non poſſem, aut certe malignus, qui laudare neſcirem. Itaque vel ingenio meo plurimum, vel moribus derogaſti: Et tamen contra interdictum tuum vix ad illius operis arcana perveni. Velim tacere quid ſentiam: Velim juſto de te Silentio vindicari; ſed admiratio ſcriptorum ſenſum frangit injuriæ. Novi ego iſtum fluvium, cum æter-*

norum principum jampridem ſigna comitarer, pares multis, imparem maximis. Hunc tu mihi improviſo clarorum verſuum dignitate Ægyptio Nilo majorem, frigidiorem Scythico Tanai, clarioremque hoc noſtro populari Tyberi reddidiſti. Nequaquam tibi crederem de Moſellæ ortu ac meatu magna narranti, ni ſcirem quod nec in poemate mentiaris. Unde illa amnicorum piſcium examina reperiſti? quàm nominibus varia tam coloribus, ut magnitudine diſtantia, ſic ſapore, quæ tu pigmentis iſtius carminis ſupra naturæ dona fucaſti. Atqui in tuis menſis ſæpe verſatus, cum pleraque alia quæ tunc in pretio erant, eſui objecta mirarer, nunquam hoc genus piſcium deprehendi. Quando tibi hi piſces in libro nati ſunt: Qui in ferculis non fuerint. Jocari me putas, atque agere nugas. Ita dominus probabilem me præſtet, ut ego tuum carmen libris Maronis adjungo: Sed jam mei oblitus doloris, inhæreo laudibus tuis: Ne hoc quoque ad gloriam tuam trahas, quod te miramur offenſi? Spargas licet volumina tua, & me ſemper excipias: fruimur tamen tuo opere, ſed aliorum benignitate. Vale.

Symmachus to Ausonius.

"YOU deſire me to write you a long Letter: This
" is a proof of your affection to me. But I,
" who am ſenſible of my own weakneſs, chuſe the *La-*
" *conic* brevity, rather than expoſe the poverty of my
" ſtile in many pages. And it is no wonder, if the
" vein of my eloquence is impoveriſhed, which has
" been kept ſo long without the ſupply either of your
" verſe or proſe. With what conſcience then can
" you expect much from me, when you have ſent me
" nothing? Your Poem on the *Moſelle*, which you
" have immortalized in your excellent verſes, is read
" and admired by many perſons, but I was left out
" of the number. And why was I to be excluded?
" either you queſtioned my ability to diſcern its beau-
" ties, or miſtruſted my inclination to commend it:
" either you wrong my underſtanding or character
" very much. Yet notwithſtanding your oppoſition,

" I

" I have at laſt had your Poem in my hands. I could " have a mind to hide my opinion of it, and by a juſt " ſilence be in ſome ſort revenged of you: But my " admiration of it has made me forget your injurious " behaviour. I knew the *Moſelle*, when I ſerved in " the wars under our Emperors, that it was equal to " many rivers, but much inferior to the greater of " them. But you, by the charm of your excellent " Poetry, have at once made it bigger than the *Nile*, " cooler than the *Scythian Tanais*, and more renown- " ed than our own *Tiber*. However, I ſhall hardly " credit the ſtrange things you ſay of its ſpring and " courſe, but that I know you ſcorn to advance an " untruth even in Poetry. But where could you find " thoſe ſwarms of river fiſh, of ſuch various colours, " ſo different in ſize and taſte, which almoſt exceed " nature in your beautiful deſcription of them? As " often as I dined at your table, and admired the ra- " rities that covered it, I never met with any of theſe " fiſh. How come you to give them place in your " book, which could not obtain it at your table? But " now you will imagine I begin to rally and trifle; but " I ſolemnly proteſt that I put this Poem of yours in the " ſame rank with the works of *Virgil*. Before I was " aware, I have launched out into your praiſe; but " do not let this add to your vanity that I admire you, " though you have diſobliged me. You may diſtribute " your books as often as you pleaſe, and except me; " I ſhall nevertheleſs enjoy your works, though I am " beholden to others for the favour. Farewell."

As this Poem is the moſt conſiderable of any that Ausonius wrote, I thought this character which *Symmachus* has given of it, might not be diſagreeable to the curious reader, who cannot ſuppoſe that this great man's friendſhip for Ausonius had ſo blinded his judgment as to make him launch out ſo far in praiſe of a bad Poem.

The reſt of Ausonius's works do not come up to this; many of them were compoſed occaſionally for the inſtruction of youth. Some were almoſt extempore

trials of wit: of this ſort was the *Cento Nuptialis* a Poem, which perhaps had been leſs taken notice of, if on another ſubject, or if the Parody had been made from the works of a more licentious Poet than *Virgil*. As I am far from approving the Poet's conduct in this reſpect, ſo I think it is but common juſtice to let him ſpeak for himſelf, and quote part of his letter which he ſent with the *Cento* to his religious friend and favourite ſcholar *Paulinus*.

AUSONIUS PAULINO, S.

PErlege hoc etiam, ſi operæ eſt, frivolum, & nullius pretij opuſculum, quod nec labor excudit, nec cura limavit, ſine ingenij acumine, & moræ maturitate. Centonem vocant, qui primi hac concinnatione luſerunt. Solæ memoriæ negotium ſparſa colligere, & integrare lacerata, quod ridere magis quam laudare poſſis. Piget Virgiliani carminis dignitatem tam joculari dehoneſtaſſe materia. Sed quid facerem? juſſum erat; quodque eſt potentiſſimum imperandi genus, rogabat, qui jubere poterat: ſcilicet Imperator Valentinianus, vir meo judicio eruditus, qui nuptias quondam ejuſmodi ludo deſcripſerat, aptis equidem verſibus & compoſitione feſtiva: Experiri deinde volens quantum noſtra contentione præcelleret, ſimile nos de eodem concinnare præcepit. Quam ſcrupuloſum hoc mihi fuerit, intellige. Neque anteferri volebam neque poſthaberi; cum aliorum quoque judicio detegenda eſſet adulatio inepta ſi cederem, inſolentia, ſi, ut æmulus eminerem. Suſcepi igitur ſimilis recuſanti, feliciterque & obnoxius gratiam tenui: nec victor offendi. Hoc die uno, & addita lucubratione properatum. Tanta mihi candoris tui & amoris fiducia eſt, ut ſeveritati tuæ nec ridenda ſubtraherem, &c.

AUSONIUS to PAULINUS.

"I Send you a little trifling compoſition of mine, "which was neither the product of labour, nor "corrected with care, nor the offſpring of genius, "nor could be ripened by time to perfection. They "who firſt amuſed themſelves this way, called it a "*Cento*.

" *Cento.* The chief burden lies on the memory to
" collect what had been diſperſed, and to put the ſe-
" veral ſcraps together, and when that is done, it de-
" ſerves to be laughed at, rather than commended. I
" was ſorry too that I diſhonoured the dignity of *Vir-*
" *gil's* Poetry by ſo ludicrous a ſubject. But how
" could I avoid it? I was ordered to do it; and what
" laid the greater obligation upon me, he who had a
" right to command, requeſted it of me as a favour.
" In a word, it was the Emperor *Valentinian* himſelf,
" a Prince of excellent learning in my opinion; who,
" having formerly diverted himſelf by writing a Nup-
" tial Poem of this ſort, that wanted neither art nor
" proper numbers to recommend it, had a mind to ſee
" how I ſhould ſucceed in the like attempt. How
" nice a point this was, I leave you to judge. I did
" not deſire to obtain the preference, and at the ſame
" time was unwilling to fall ſhort of him; for had I
" yielded the prize, the world would have diſcovered
" the ſordid adulation, as they would have condemned
" my inſolence, had I ſtrove as a rival to outſhine him.
" I undertook it therefore with ſome ſhew of reluc-
" tancy, and had the happineſs to ſucceed without diſ-
" pleaſing, and to conquer without offence. It was
" hurried up in one day and night's time. But I have
" ſome confidence in your candour and affection, that
" I was unwilling to conceal even ſo ridiculous a trifle
" from you, *&c.*

Perhaps ſome of the moſt rigid Cenſors of Auſonius would have been unwilling to forfeit their Prince's favour, by an affectation of ſeverity in a caſe when the Prince himſelf had firſt ſet the example he required them to follow.

As for the apology he makes for the obſcene part of it afterwards, I think it is trifling, and the concluſion worſt of all; for tho' we know the buſineſs of the wedding night, decency forbids us to deſcribe it as he did: and if he found himſelf under a neceſſity of writing in this manner in obedience to *Valentinian*, nothing but his vanity could put him upon publiſhing it afterwards.

What he has elſewhere ſaid in a jocular manner to his ſon *Gregorius* (when he ſent him the Poem on *Cupid*'s being faſtened to a croſs by ſeveral female lovers, and which he has very happily executed) that we are apt to be fond even of our blemiſhes and ſcars, and not content to do amiſs ourſelves, would have others approve our ſo doing; *Nævos noſtros & cicatrices amamus, nec ſoli noſtro vitio peccaſſe contenti, affectamus ut amentur:* This I think is really Ausonius's character in ſome meaſure, finding himſelf prefer'd from an inconſiderable Profeſſor to the higheſt dignities in the Empire; his vanity made him ſtill find a merit in trifles unbecoming his character.

Thus in his old age he continued to delight in the inſtructing of youth, for whom he would often compoſe little Poems ſuited to their capacity. The inſtruction of youth is certainly a commendable employment, but a *Roman* Conſul, a Prefect of *Italy* and *Gaul*, one would imagine, might have found other buſineſs. I am ready to allow, that many of theſe compoſitions were for the uſe of his own grandchildren, or thoſe of ſome of his friends of the firſt rank; and that they were the amuſements of his leiſure hours. Yet this will hardly excuſe the careleſsneſs with which he wrote them, who pretended to the glory of being a good Poet, or that ſelf-liking which he betrays wherever he has occaſion to mention himſelf in them.

But we may ſee by ſome other Poems, that his genius led him to trifle with his muſe and to applaud himſelf for it afterwards. Such is that on the number Three and the letter that he ſent with it to his friend *Symmachus* about it. "But (ſays the Poet) it was "compoſed over a glaſs of wine between dinner and "ſupper." But what need then of an apology about it, or, in anſwer to ſome ill-natured Critic's objection, that he had left out ſeveral things concerning the number Three, to ſhew the contrary by a long enumeration of many other particulars relating to that myſterious number, which his mentioning there does not

prove that he thought of them all, as he would inſinuate he had, when he compoſed the Poem.

I would not be underſtood, by what I have ſaid, to undervalue Ausonius, who had a fine genius, a ready wit, and a great compaſs of learning and eloquence; but having attained the higheſt honours by his learning, he neglected to cultivate his genius, or to apply it to ſome noble ſubject. And as I think moſt of his leſſer compoſitions are ſo many abuſes of a fine genius, and only ſo much time and labour loſt, it may be proper to caution ſuch of my readers as may happen to be poetically given, from imitating ſo bad an example. His ſucceſs in ſome of theſe trifles, carries his condemnation with it. Of this nature is his fooliſh, though ingenious Poem, where each verſe begins and ends with a monoſyllable. This was a fine preſent to his friend *Paulinus*, and is accompanied with a letter ſetting forth the difficulties he had to encounter in this arduous task; and being in a quibbling humour, he cannot help ſhewing it even in the letter, which he concludes ſaying, "In ſhort, it is what you will rather pity than admire, or deſire to imitate: for if you ſhould, you would find more torture of the brain and injury to the eloquence of your ſtile, than ſatisfaction from ſucceſs in the attempt." *Ad ſummam, non eſt quod mereris, ſed paucis literis additis, eſt cujus miſerearis, neque æmulari velis: Et ſi quoque deſcenderis, majorem moleſtiam capias ingenii & facundiæ detrimento, quam oblectationem imitationis affectu.*

I cannot ſay much in praiſe of his Epigrams, many of them are tranſlations from the *Greek*, and have but little ſpirit or elegance: Thoſe of his own compoſition have a better turn, but are ſcarce worth imitation. His Poem on the Roſe has ſome beauties in the Elegiac way, and had been put in the number of *Virgil*'s Juvenile Poems, 'till proved to be Ausonius's by *Alexander* from the authority of an antient Manuſcript of this Poet's works.

His love Poems on *Biſſulis* a fair *Suabian* captive, whom

whom he loved and afterwards ſet at liberty, are imperfect; and when he ſent them entire to *Paulus*, a perſon of great Quality, he ſays, he never wrote them for public view; but could not refuſe them to his preſſing inſtances.

Ut voluiſti, Paule, cunctos Biſſulæ verſus habes,
Luſimus quos in Suevæ gratiam Virgunculæ:
Otium magis foventes quam ſtudentes gloriæ.
Tu moleſtus flagitator lege moleſta carmina:
Tibi quod intriſti exedendum eſt. Sic vetus verbum
jubet,
Compedes, quas ipſe fecit, ipſus ut geſtet Faber.

He wrote the Poem of the ſeven Wiſe Men, when he was Conſul, and inſcribed it to his friend *Drepanus* the Proconſul. He has alſo compoſed a collection of ſhort Poems in praiſe of the principal Cities of the *Roman* Empire. He likewiſe abridged the lives of the twelve *Cæſars* from *Suetonius*, and of the other Emperors down to *Heliogabalus*; and wrote the Contents of *Homer*'s *Iliads* and *Odyſſee*, partly in verſe and partly proſe.

Whilst he had the care of *Gratian*'s inſtruction, he tranſlated ſome fables from the *Greek*, but they are loſt.

There are ſeveral of his Epiſtles extant, both in verſe and proſe; thoſe to *Paulinus* ſeem moſt laboured, and abound with the moſt tender expreſſions of friendſhip to that excellent man, whoſe anſwers are as ingenious as they are devout.

His *Idyllia* are miſcellaneous Poems; two of them are on religious ſubjects, and ſavour of the true ſpirit of Chriſtianity. There is nothing worth dwelling upon in particular of any of theſe Poems. He alſo wrote a Poem of the *Roman Faſti* or *Annals*, from the building of *Rome* down to his own time, including the ſpace of 1118 years: but this work, which might have been very uſeful, is loſt through the injuries of time. It was addreſſed to *Proculus*, who according to Auſonius was Conſul four years after him: but I

do

do not find his name in the liſt of Conſuls at that time: and what AUSONIUS reckons the year of *Rome* 1118, in *Helvicus* is 1131, anſwering to the year of *Chriſt* 381. But let the Poet's own account, as preſerved to us in a fragment by way of Preface to theſe *Faſti*, conclude our account of his life.

Urbis ab æternæ deductam rege Quirino
Annorum ſeriem cum, Procule, accipies,
Mille annos centumque & bis fluxiſſe novenos
Conſulis Auſonij nomen aduſque leges.
Fors erit ut luſtrum cum ſe cumulaverit iſtis,
Confectam Proculus ſignet Olympiadem.

THE LIFE OF *CLAUDIAN.*

CLAUDIUS CLAUDIANUS was born at *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*, as we may ſuppoſe about the year of CHRIST 365, in the beginning of the reign of *Valentinian* I. I can find nothing particular relating to his birth, parentage, or education. But as *Alexandria* was then in its higheſt glory for learning, and contended even with *Athens* for the education of youth, we find from CLAUDIAN's own account, that he had made ſuch progreſs in *Greek* learning, as to have indulged his poetic vein in that language, before he attempted any thing in the *Latin* Tongne. The ſame paſſage informs us when he came firſt to *Rome*, which was in the year of CHRIST 395, when *Olybrius* and *Probinus* were Conſuls. We have a panegyrical Poem of his extant on that occaſion, which perhaps was the firſt *Latin* Poem that he publiſhed; and he ſeems to inſinuate as much in an Epiſtle addreſſed to *Probinus*, one of the Conſuls, who probably was his firſt Patron. But hear him give this account himſelf.

Romanos bibimus primum te Conſule fontes,
Et Latiæ ceſſit Graia Thalia Togæ:
Incipienſque tuis a faſcibus omina cepi,
Fataque debebo poſteriora tibi.

Of

Of *Greece* and her *Parnaſſus* weary grown,
I ſought the beauties of the *Roman* Gown;
Whoſe ſacred ſprings I firſt preſum'd to taſte,
The Conſul's *faſces* when *Probinus* grac'd:
His honours prov'd auſpicious to my Muſe,
His praiſe ſhe for her lateſt theme will chuſe.

From this paſſage it appears that *Claudian* could not be leſs than thirty when he firſt came to *Rome*, or at leaſt when he wrote his firſt Latin Poem; and I have fixt the date of his birth accordingly. After having compleated his ſtudies, he muſt have ſpent ſome time in acquainting himſelf with the excellencies of the *Latin*, as he had before of the *Greek*.

Petrarch and *Politian* claimed him as a *Florentine*, or at leaſt that his father was a native of *Florence*; but *Giraldus* and the beſt Critics follow the authority of *Suidas*, and of *Sidonius Apollinaris*, and ſay, he was a native of *Alexandria* in *Ægppt*. There are ſome little Poems on ſacred ſubjects, which through miſtake have been aſcribed by ſome Critics to Claudian; and ſo have made him be thought a Chriſtian. But St. *Auſtin*, who was partly cotemporary with him, expreſsly ſays he was a Heathen; where he quotes ſome of his Verſes in praiſe of *Theodoſius*, *De Civit. Dei*. Lib. 1. Cap. 26. and *Paulus Oroſius* the Hiſtorian, who likewiſe flouriſhed about the ſame time, ſays the ſame, Lib. 7. Cap. 35. *Giraldus* therefore juſtly blames the ignorant credulity of *Barthius* and thoſe Critics in this matter, and attributes theſe ſacred Poems to *Claudius Mamercus* a Chriſtian Poet of *Vienne* in *Gaul*, and cotemporary with *Sidonius Apollinaris*, who commends him at large, *Lib.* 4. *Epiſt.* 3. But to return to Claudian.

Not long after his coming to *Rome*, he inſinuated himſelf into *Stilico*'s favour, who being a perſon of great abilities both for peace and war, though a *Goth* by birth, was now become ſo conſiderable under *Honorius*, that he may be ſaid for many years to have governed the Weſtern Empire.

He had ſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valour and conduct

conduct under the Emperor *Theodosius*, that he gave him the command of his forces, and as a farther reward of his services, bestowed his favourite Niece and adopted daughter the Princess *Serena* upon him, and on his death-bed recommended the Empire and his Sons to his care and protection.

Honorius was so fond of him, that he made a fresh alliance with him, by marrying *Maria*, *Stilico*'s daughter by *Serena*. Being thus doubly related to the Emperor, and having destroyed all his rivals in the Eastern, where his influence reached, as well as the Western Empire, he wanted but the title of Emperor: and this his ambition put him upon endeavours of obtaining, at least for his Son *Eucherius*; but the plot being timely discovered, they were both put to death.

Claudian was probably involved in his Patron's disgrace, and severely persecuted both in his family, in his person and fortunes by *Hadrian*, an *Ægyptian* by birth, who was Captain of the Guards to *Honorius*, and seems to have succeeded *Stilico*, whose plot he had discovered, in the administration. There is an expostulatory Epistle of the Poet's extant addressed to this *Hadrian*, which seems to be one of the last of his writing, so that we may conclude that he obtained no redress from the Minister, whom he had likewise personally affronted in the following Epigram.

Mallius indulget somno noctesque diesque,
Insomnis Pharius sacra profana rapit.
Omnibus hoc, Italæ gentes, exposcite votis,
Mallius ut vigilet, dormiat ut Pharius.

Whilst *Mallius* day and night in sleep is lost,
By restless *Hadrian*'s plunders th' Empire's tost:
This change, O *Romans*, of great *Jove* implore,
That *Mallius* may sleep less, and *Hadrian* more.

The poor Poet thus heavily vents his sorrows, complaining of *Hadrian*'s cruelty and unforgiving temper, in his Epistle to that Minister.

Audiat hoc commune solum, longeque carinis
Nota Pharos, flentemque attollens gurgite vultum,
Nostra gemat Nilus numerosis funera ripis.

Which

Which paſſage, by the bye, proves the Poet to have been a native of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*.

Let *Pharos* thro' the world by trade renown'd,
Thy Rage, let *Ægypt* hear, our mother ground;
To mourn my ſorrows, from each oozy bed
Let weeping *Nilus* raiſe his drooping head.

It appears from another part of this Epiſtle, that Claudian had formerly been in *Hadrian*'s favour, which he had now ſuddenly changed into hatred; and he inſinuates as if the Miniſter had too eaſily lent an ear to falſe reports and malignant rumours; he begs pardon for his fault, which his grief for *Stilico*'s fall perhaps, or his vanity, or a heat of paſſion had betrayed him into, and beſeeches him not to continue his violent indignation and anger againſt him: His houſe was now made deſolate, and he driven to want and neceſſity, being robbed of all his friends, of ſome by death and tortures, of others by baniſhment. But all this and many more particulars of his complaint, leave us ſtill to gueſs the true cauſe of his diſgrace, nor can we tell how long he ſurvived it.

But ſetting aſide his abuſing *Hadrian*, he ſeems to have behaved as a true Court Poet: nor was the Prince ungrateful to his Panegyriſt; he obtained, as he mentions in his Epiſtle above-mentioned, ſeveral honours both civil and military, though they are not there particularly ſpecified. But *Arcadius* and *Honorius* in conjunction with the *Roman* Senate, granted him an honour that ſeems to exceed any that ever had been beſtowed on any Poet before; which *Gyraldus* ſays was diſcovered by a marble that was found in his time, and carefully examined by *Pomponius Lætus* and other able Antiquaries, who judged it to be the pedeſtal of Claudian's Statue in braſs, which the Emperors at the Senate's requeſt had ordered to be erected for him in *Trajan*'s *Forum*, with the following moſt honourable inſcription on the marble above mentioned.

Cl.

CL. CLAUDIANO, *V. C.*

CL. CLAUDIANO, *V. C. Tribuno & Notario, inter cæteras ingentes artes, præglorioſiſſimo Poetarum, licet ad memoriam ſempiternam carmina ab eodem ſcripta ſufficiant, attamen teſtimonij gratia, ob judicij ſui fidem DD. NN. Arcadius & Honorius feliciſſimi & doctiſſimi Imperatores, Senatu petente, ſtatuam in foro divi Trajani erigi, collocarique juſſerunt.*

UNDER the Inſcription was put the following *Greek* Epigram.

Εἰν ἑνὶ Βιργιλίοιο νόον ϗ μῶσαν Ὁμήρου
Κλαυδιανὸν Ρώμη ϗ Βασιλῆς ἔθεσαν.

"TO CLAUDIUS CLAUDIANUS, Tribune
" and Notary, and among other great qualifications,
" the moſt excellent of Poets, though his own
" works are ſufficient to make his name immortal,
" yet as a teſtimony of their approbation, the moſt
" learned and moſt happy Emperors *Arcadius* and
" *Honorius*, at the requeſt of the Senate, have or-
" dered this ſtatue to be erected and placed in the
" *Forum* of *Trajan*."

THE Epigram underneath was no leſs glorious to the Poet.

" *Rome* and the *Cæſars* here his Statue raiſe,
" Who *Virgil*'s genius join'd to *Homer*'s lays.

IN the Preface to his Poem on the *Getic* war, CLAUDIAN attributes this honour as owing to his Poems on the Conſulſhip of *Honorius*.

Poſt reſides annos longo velut excita ſomno
Romanis fruitur noſtra Thalia choris.
Optatos renovant eadem mihi culmina cœtus,
Perſonat & noto Pythia vate domus.
Conſulis hic faſces cecini, Libyamque receptam,
Hic mihi proſtratis bella canenda Getis :
Sed prior effigiem tribuit ſucceſſus aënam,
Oraque Patricius noſtra dicavit honos.
Annuit hunc titulum princeps, poſcente Senatu.

After

After ſome years repoſe the ſlothful Muſe,
The *Roman* towers, once more, awaken'd views.
Th' inſpiring powers to all my boſom throng,
The vanquiſh'd *Getæ* ſhall adorn my ſong.
Th' imperial *Conſul* firſt I ſtrove to ſing,
And *Libyan* rebels in ſubjection bring;
The former Theme a brazen ſtatue crown'd,
Patrician honours thus my numbers found:
The Senate's voice that title did requeſt
With which the *Cæſars* have their Poet grac'd.

I ſuppoſe that this abſence of the Poet from *Rome*, was when the Princeſs *Serena*, who had a great eſteem for CLAUDIAN, recommended and married him to a Lady of great quality and fortune in *Libya*, as he acknowledges very gratefully in an Epiſtle which he addreſſes to *Serena* from thence, a little before the wedding-day.

Non ego, cum peterem, ſolenni more procorum,
Promiſi gregibus paſcua plena meis:
Nec quod mille mihi lateant ſub palmite colles,
Fluctuet & glauca pinguis oliva coma:
Nec quod noſtra Ceres numeroſa falce laboret,
Auratæque ferant culmina celſa trabes.
Suffecit mandaſſe deam; tua littera nobis,
Et pecus, & ſegetes, & domus ampla fuit.
Inflexit ſoceros, & majeſtate petendi
Texit pauperiem nominis umbra tui.

No ſpreading olives bending with their fruit,
No vineyards on the Hills t'adorn my ſuit;
No flocks nor herds my plenteous paſtures feed,
Nor fields of full-ear'd corn had I to plead:
No golden roof, nor lordly ſeat I own,
Nor birth, nor title boaſt; your name alone
Theſe wants ſupplies; *Serena* beſt can find
The poor man friends, and bid the rich be kind.
A Goddeſs recommends, and is obey'd;
Wealth, title, lands, your letter all convey'd.

THESE are all the circumſtances of CLAUDIAN's life

life that I have been able to gather from his Works, which we will next consider; and begin with the character he bears as a Poet among the Critics.

THEY are, as usual, divided in their opinions of him: some think his stile too florid, and are offended with the flowing ease and harmoniousness of his numbers. But this is what CLAUDIAN seems to have aimed at as a beauty, and in which he has succeeded beyond all the *Latin* Poets. But as true harmony of numbers does not barely consist in tunable and pleasing sounds, but requires a due mixture of gravity and elevation as well as smoothness and fluency to compleat it, and all of them justly adapted to the character of the subject to be described, whereby the numbers become in some sort significant as well as the expression; therefore that equability and constant fluency of CLAUDIAN's numbers has been justly objected against, as wanting both variety and strength in many places to support the dignity of the expression.

THERE are others, who admiring the charming ease and fluency of his numbers, with the spirit and vivacity of his stile, wish he had been happier or rather more judicious in the choice of his subjects. It may be alledged in his defence, that the subjects he has chosen, though inferior to the true Epic Poems, were not only such as were likely to make his fortune at court, but were capable of the finest embellishments, and such as would admit of all those beauties of fiction and figures, which make the soul of Poetry. Besides, the rape of *Proserpine* had most of those circumstances to recommend it, which the Critics require in the fable of an Epic Poem; and it was on this Poem that CLAUDIAN proposed to build his fame: And accordingly, in his Preface to that Poem, which is addressed to his friend *Florentinus*, a person of great learning and quality, he insinuates, that this Poem was a work of much labour and difficulty, and which he had not ventured upon 'till he had first tried the strength of his genius by lesser Compositions.

Inventa ſecuit qui primus nave profundum,
Et rudibus remis ſollicitavit aquas.
Qui, dubijs auſus committere flatibus alnum,
Quas natura negat, præbuit arte vias.
Tranquillis primum trepidus ſe credidit undis,
Littora ſecuro tramite ſumma legens.
Mox longos tentare ſinus, & linquere terras,
Et leni cæpit pandere vela Noto.
Aſt ubi paulatim præceps audacia crevit,
Cordaque languentem dedidicêre metum;
Jam vagus exultat pelago, cælumque ſecutus
Ægeas hyemes Ioniaſque domat.

The man who firſt preſum'd to try the deep,
And with unskilful oars the billows ſweep;
Who to the dubious winds unfurl'd the ſail,
And dar'd by Art o'er Nature's bounds prevail;
With caution firſt the ſea becalm'd eſſay'd,
And near the ſhore his bark ſecurely play'd:
Embolden'd now, he tempts the winding bay,
Forſakes the land, and gently ſails away
With a fair gale; at length more hardy grown,
Diſdains all fear, and rides the main unknown;
By ſtars directed, ploughs the ſwelling tide,
Victorious o'er the ſtormy ocean's pride.

In complaiſance to Claudian's good opinion of the Rape of *Proſerpine*, we will examine it firſt. Whether he finiſhed it, and ſo the injuries of time have robbed us of what is now wanting of it, or that the Poet left it imperfect, I do not pretend to determine; though I muſt confeſs, I think the laſt book of thoſe now extant, much more incorrect than the former. But leaving this nice and knotty point to the diſquiſition of the Critics, let us conſider the plan of this Poem. It does not ſeem very well laid for an Epic Poem, the Poet having begun too high, and thereby prolonged the duration of the action too much: The action of the Rape is finiſhed entirely in thoſe books we have, ſo that what followed, however conſequent of it, could not more properly be ſaid to belong to it, than

than the *Æneis* does to the *Ilias*. However, the ſubject, as being a moſt celebrated ſtory in the Heathen Mythology, could not but be entertaining to the reader at that time; and as the powers of Heaven, Earth, and Hell are intereſted in the principal action, the Poet could not fail of a fine opportunity to diſplay his happy talent for deſcription. It is true, that ſome would think, that a greater ſimplicity in the principal action, and more human actors if poſſible, would have been better, and eſpecially the latter, as affording more natural characters. It muſt be granted, that the Marvellous, that favourite beauty among the ancient Epic Writers, appears moſt in ſuch extraordinary characters as are employed in carrying on the action of this Poem; for I cannot help thinking, that the generality of Epic Writers among the Antients lay under a miſtake, when they imagined, that as often as they introduced a wonderful incident, they added a new beauty to their work; and I almoſt ſuſpect that *Virgil* himſelf has been miſled by this affectation of the Marvellous.

CLAUDIAN is accuſed of ſometimes falling into common-place reflections and philoſophical enquiries, which lead him from the purpoſe of his ſtory, and that he affects to introduce too many circumſtances in his deſcription.

HE is ſo fine a writer, taken altogether, that I think it juſt to ſhew his faults, leſt the leſs judicious reader might ſometimes be miſled by the charms of his imagery to admire what is faulty in its place, however beautiful; if conſidered ſingly and without regard to that relation it bears in proportion as a part to the whole. *Ovid* was ſometimes guilty of this magnificent but unſeaſonable luxuriancy of fancy, which like that in leaves in fruit-trees always beſpeaks them diſtempered, and is generally attended with, or the conſequence of a ſmall blow, and little or bad fruit. We have a lively inſtance of this redundancy of imagination in the beginning of the 3d book: *Jupiter* is there deſcribed as calling a council of the Gods.

Jupiter

Jupiter interea cinctam Thaumantida nimbis
Ire jubet, totoque Deos arceſſere mundo.
Illa colorato Zephyros prælapſa volatu
Numina conclamat pelagi, Nymphaſque morantes
Increpat, & fluvios humentibus evocat antris.
Ancipites trepidique ruunt, quæ cauſa quietos
Excierit, tanto quæ res agitanda tumultu.
Ut patuit ſtellata domus, conſidere juſſi:
Nec confuſus honos: cæleſtibus ordine ſedes
Prima datur: tractum proceres tenuere ſecundum
Æquorei, placidus Nereus, & lucida Phorci
Canities; Glaucum ſeries extrema biformem
Accipit, & certo manſurum Protea vultu.
Nec non & ſenibus fluvijs conceſſa ſedendi
Gloria; plebeio ſtat cætera more juventus,
Mille amnes: liquidis incumbunt patribus udæ
Naiades, & taciti mirantur ſidera Fauni,
Tum gravis ex alto Jupiter ſic orſus Olympo.

Mean time Imperial *Jove* ſent *Iris* down
To call the Gods to council at his throne.
Wrapt in her fluſhing robes ſhe ſwiftly flies
On gentle Zephyrs thro' the yielding skies:
She cites the Deities, beneath the ſea
And watry Nymphs, and chides their long delay.
Then calls the Rivers from their oozy caves:
At once they ſtart and riſe above the Waves,
In open air, th' important cauſe to know
Of the loud ſummons, which they heard below.
The ſhining Palace opes, the Powers appear,
And all in juſt degrees are ſeated there.
Firſt the Celeſtials ſit; the ſecond place
Falls to the honours of the Watry race,
Nerus and foaming *Phorcus*: *Glaucus* laſt
Of double form, th' inferior rank poſſeſs'd
With varying *Proteus* in one ſhape reſtrain'd:
The better Rivers then their ſeſſion gain'd:
The youthful train ſtand humbly by their ſide,
A thouſand ſtreams, which roll a modeſt tide.

Each *Nais* leans upon her liquid fire,
The ſtaring Fauns the radiant ſtars admire.

Jabez Hughes.

Virgil ſays more to the purpoſe of his ſubject in five lines, than CLAUDIAN has here in eighteen.

Panditur interea domus omnipotentis Olympi,
Conciliumque vocat divûm pater atque hominum rex
Sideream in ſedem : terras unde arduus omnes,
Caſtraque Dardanidum aſpectat, populoſque Latinos;
Conſidunt tectis bipatentibus, incipit ipſe.

Lib. 10. Ver. 1.

The gates of heav'n unfold ; Jove ſummons all
The Gods to council, in the common hall.
Sublimely ſeated he ſurveys from far
The fields, the camp, the fortune of the war ;
And all th' inferior world : from firſt to laſt
The ſov'reign Senate in degrees are plac'd.
Then thus th' almighty Sire began.

A deſcription of the ſame kind out of the *Metamorphoſes* will ſhew that CLAUDIAN's genius very much reſembled *Ovid*'s.

Quæ pater ut ſumma vidit Saturnius arce,
Ingemit, & facto nondum vulgata recenti,
Fœda Lycaoniæ referens convivia menſæ
Ingentes animo & dignas Jove concipit iras ;
Conciliumque vocat ; tenuit mora nulla vocatos.
Eſt via ſublimis, cœlo manifeſta ſereno,
Lactea nomen habet ; candore notabilis ipſo.
Hac iter eſt ſuperis ad magni tecta Tonantis,
Regalemque domum : dextra levaque Deorum
Atria nobilium valvis celebrantur apertis.
Plebs habitat diverſa locis : a fronte potentes
Cœlicolæ, clariique ſuos poſuere Penates.
Hic locus eſt, quem, ſi verbis audacia detur,
Haud timeam magni dixiſſe Palatia cœli.
Ergo ubi marmoreo ſuperi ſedere receſſu
Celſior ipſe loco, ſceptroque innixus eburno
Terrificam capitis concuſſit terque quaterque

Cæſariem,

Cæſariem, cum qua terram, mare, ſidera movit.
Talibus inde modis ora indignantia ſolvit.
Lib. 1. Fab. 2.

Which when the King of Gods beheld from high,
(Withal revolving in his memory
What he himſelf had found on earth of late
Lycaon's guilt, and his inhuman treat)
He ſigh'd; nor longer with his pity ſtrove;
But kindled to a wrath becoming Jove:
Then call'd a General Council of the Gods;
Who ſummon'd iſſue from their bleſt abodes,
And fill th' aſſembly with a ſhining train.
A way there is in heav'n's expanded plain,
Which when the skies are clear, is ſeen below,
And mortals by the name of Milky know.
The ground-work is of ſtars; thro' which the road
Lies open to the Thunderer's abode:
The Gods of greater Nations dwell around,
And, on the right and left the palace bound;
The commons where they can: the nobler ſort
With winding doors wide open front the Court.
This place as far as earth with heav'n may vie,
I dare to call the Louvre of the sky.
When all were plac'd, in ſeats diſtinctly known,
And he, their Father, had aſſum'd the throne,
Upon his iv'ry ſceptre firſt he leant,
Then ſhook his head, that ſhook the firmament:
Air, earth, and ſeas, obey'd th' almighty nod,
And with a gen'ral fear confeſs'd the God;
At length with indignation thus he broke
His awful ſilence and the pow'rs beſpoke.

In ſome places I think Claudian rather more luxuriant than *Ovid:* Such is his deſcription of the general joy of all the infernal world at the Nuptials of *Pluto* and *Proſerpine*, where he ſeems fond of inſerting every circumſtance that occurred to his imagination. But as it is beautiful in itſelf, though diſproportionate, I ſhall tranſcribe it, and add this remark,

That I would not be underſtood to condemn that for bad Poetry, which is luxuriant, nor to admire every thing that is correct. A dull Poet at the expence of much labour and pains may poſſibly come near to *Virgil*'s correctneſs, but without his ſpirit and thought; as an extravagant and ſickly fancy may ſometimes reſemble the rich abundance of *Ovid* and CLAUDIAN; but examination will ſhew the former to be an indigeſted heap of Bombaſt, and the latter a magnificent profuſion of fine images. But as true beauty conſiſts in a juſt ſymmetry of parts concurring to make up the whole in a graceful and uniform proportion, it is the buſineſs of judgment to correct the too vigorous ſallies of the imagination; as on the other hand, the fancy is requiſite to adorn and enliven the regularity and exactneſs of the judgment.

——————— Alterius ſic
Altera poſcit opem res & conſpirat amicè.

But to return to CLAUDIAN's deſcription:

Pallida lætatur legio, genteſque ſepultæ
Luxuriant, epuliſque vacant genialibus umbræ:
Grata coronati peragunt convivia manes:
Rumpunt inſoliti tenebroſa ſilentia cantus.
Sedantur gemitus Erebi, ſe ſponte relaxat
Squalor, & æternam patitur rareſcere noctem:
Urna nec incertos verſat Minoia ſortes;
Verbera nulla ſonant, nulloque trementia luctu
Impia dilatis reſpirant Tartara pœnis.
Non rota ſuſpenſum præceps Ixiona torquet:
Non aqua Tantaleis ſubducitur invida labris:
Solvitur Ixion, invenit Tantalus undas,
Et Tityos tandem ſpatioſos erigit artus:
Squalentiſque novem detexit jugera campi,
Tantus erat; lateriſque piger ſulcator opaci,
Invitus trahitur laſſo de pectore vultur,
Abreptaſque dolet jam non ſibi creſcere fibras.
Oblitæ ſcel rum, formidatique furoris
Eumenedes, Cratera parant, & vina feroci

Crim

Crine bibunt; flexiſque minis jam lene canentes,
Extendunt ſocios ad pocula plena ceraſtas.
Tunc & peſtiferi pacatum flumen Averni
Innocuæ tranſiſtis aves, flatumque repreſſit
Amſanctus: tacuit fixo torrente vorago.
Tunc Acheronteos mutato gurgite fontes
Lacte novo tumuiſſe ferunt, ederiſque virentem
Cocyton dulci perhibent undaſſe Lyæo:
Stamina nec rupit Lacheſis, nec turbida ſacris
Obſtrepitant lamenta choris; mors nulla vagatur
In terris, nullæque rogum planxere parentes.
Navita non moritur fluctu, non cuſpide miles,
Oppida funerei pollent immunia leti,
Impexamque ſenex velavit arundine frontem
Portitor, & vacuos egit cum carmine remos.

Lib. 2. Ver. 326.

All Hell rejoyces, and the buried dead
In wanton gambols jocundly are led:
And the crown'd *Manes* with the ſhades combine
In genial feaſts, and in the revels join.
Now chearful ſongs th' eternal ſilence break;
No groans of ghoſts the hollow caverns ſhake:
The gloom diſperſes, and continued night
Admits an infant gloom and purges into light.
Minos forgets his fatal urn to roll
No laſhes ſound, no puniſh'd ſpirits howl;
Ixion turns not on his hurrying wheel,
Nor ſwift from *Tantalus* the waters ſteal:
Ixion reſts, and *Tantalus* relieves
His thirſt impatient, and the draught receïves.
And *Tytius* ſtretch'd, erected on the ground
His ſpacious limbs, which ſpread nine acres round.
Such was the gyant's bulk; nor in his ſide
Her ſharpen'd beak the rav'nous vulture try'd:
Held from the morſel ſhe beholds in vain
The wounded liver heal and grow again.
The guilty croud th' avenging furies ſpare;
They looſe their fetters, and the ſcourge forbear;
And for the draught the brimming bowl prepare:

Singing they quaff, and to the goblet hold
Their ſilent ſnakes, which curld in many a fold.
With holy fire a joyful torch they light,
And flames unwonted flaſh'd upon the Night.
Then firſt the birds acroſs the poiſon'd lake
Securely could their airy journey take.
Amſanctus his impetuous roar ſuppreſt,
And his unruffled eddies ſmoothly reſt;
And troubled *Acheron*, they ſay, with pride
Chang'd his ſad wave and pour'd a milky tide:
Cocytus too, whom branching Ivies hem,
With gen'rous wine inrich'd his ſilent ſtream.
The Fates lay down their ſhears; no mournful cries
Nor frightful clamours, nor laments ariſe.
Death paus'd above; no hapleſs ſons expire,
Nor weeping parents watch the fun'ral fire:
Nor ſhips at ſea, nor ſoldiers in the fight,
Nor towns by ſtorm are loſt, for Death ſuſpends his right.
Old *Charon* Reeds around his temples wears,
And ſings as he his empty ferry ſteers. *Hughes.*

Pluto's ſpeech to *Proſerpine* to comfort her as he is conveying her to Hell, is full of very pleaſing images, very proper to pacify her ſorrow and indignation, and to perſuade the Goddeſs to entertain a better opinion of her future abode among the Shades. I ſhall ſubjoin Mr. *Euſden*'s tranſlation, which tho' in ſome parts a little paraphraſtical, has more of CLAUDIAN'S ſpirit in it than Mr. *Hughes*'s, and therefore will be more acceptable to the *Engliſh* Reader.

Deſine funeſtis animum, Proſerpina, curis
Et vano vexare metu: majora dabuntur
Sceptra, nec indigni tedas patiere mariti.
Ille ego Saturni proles, cui machina rerum
Servit, & immenſum tendit per inane poteſtas.
Amiſſum ne crede diem: ſunt altera nobis
Sidera; ſunt orbes alij, lumenque videbis

Cultoreſque

Cultoresque pios: illic pretiosior ætas
Aurea progenies habitant, semperque tenemus
Quod superi meruere semel: nec mollia desunt
Prata tibi: Zephyris illic melioribus halant
Perpetui flores, quos nec tua protulit Henna.
Est etiam lucis arbor prædives opacis,
Fulgentes viridi ramos curvata metallo.
Hæc tibi sacra datur, fortunatumque tenebis
Autumnum, & fulvis semper ditabere pomis.
Parva loquor: quicquid liquidus complectitur Aër,
Quicquid alit tellus, quicquid salis æquora verrunt,
Quod fluvij volvunt, quod nutrivere paludes
Cuncta tuis pariter cedent mortalia regnis,
Lunari subjecta Globo, qui septimus auras
Ambit, & externis mortalia separat astris.
Sub tua purpurei venient vestigia reges
Depositò luxu turba cum paupere mixti.
Omnia mors æquat: tu damnatura nocentes:
Tu requiem latura pijs: te judice fontes
Improba cogentur vitæ commissa fateri.
Accipe Lethæo famulas cum gurgite Parcas.
Sit fatum quodcunque voles: hæc fatus ovantes,
Exhortatur equos, & Tænara mitior intrat.

Lib. 2. Ver. 277.

Ceaſe, ceaſe fair Nymph to laviſh precious tears,
And diſcompoſe your ſoul with airy fears;
Look on *Sicilia*'s glitt'ring courts with ſcorn,
A nobler ſceptre ſhall that hand adorn.
Imperial pomp ſhall ſooth a gen'rous pride,
The Bridegroom never will diſgrace the Bride.
If you above terreſtrial thrones aſpire,
From heav'n I ſpring, and *Saturn* was my ſire.
The pow'r of *Pluto* ſtretches all around,
Uncircumſcrib'd by Nature's utmoſt bound:
Where matter mould'ring dies, where forms decay,
Thro' the vaſt trackleſs void extends my ſway.
Mark not with mournful eyes the fainting light,
Nor tremble at this interval of night;

A fairer ſcene ſhall open to your view,
An earth more verdant, and a heav'n more blue.
Another *Phœbus* gilds thoſe happy skies,
And other Stars with purer flames ariſe.
There chaſte adorers ſhall their praiſes join,
And with the choiceſt gifts enrich your ſhrine.
No change of ages knows the bliſsful clime,
The Golden firſt began, t' endure with lateſt time.
Your world a while that Golden Age could boaſt,
But here it flouriſh'd, and ſhall ne'er be loſt.
Perpetual Zephyrs breath thro' fragrant bow'rs,
And painted meads ſmile with unbidden flow'rs;
Flow'rs of immortal bloom and various hue
No rival ſweets in your own *Enna* grew.
In the receſs of a cool ſylvan glade
A monarch tree projects no vulgar ſhade:
Encumber'd with their wealth, the branches bend,
And golden apples to your reach deſcend.
Spare not the fruit, but pluck the blooming ore,
The yellow harveſt will increaſe the more.
But I too long on trifling themes explain,
Nor ſpeak th' unbounded glory of your reign:
Whole Nature owns your pow'r, whate'er has birth,
And lives and moves o'er all the face of earth,
Or in old Ocean's mighty caverns ſleep,
Or ſportive roll along the foamy deep;
Or on ſtiff pinions airy journeys take,
Or cut the floating ſtream or ſtagnant lake;
In vain they labour to preſerve their breath,
And ſoon fall victims to your ſubject Death.
Unnumber'd triumphs ſwift to you he brings;
Hail Goddeſs of all ſublunary things!
Empires that ſink above, here riſe again,
And worlds unpeopled crowd th' *Elyſian* plain.
The rich, the poor, the monarch, and the ſlave
Know no ſuperior honours in the grave.
Proud tyrants once, and lawrel'd chiefs ſhall come
And kneel, and trembling wait from you their doom.
The impious forc'd ſhall then their crimes diſcloſe,
And ſee paſt pleaſures teem with future woes;

Deplore

Deplore in darkneſs your impartial ſway,
While ſpotleſs ſouls enjoy the fields of day.
When ripe for ſecond birth the dead ſhall ſtand
In ſhiv'ring throngs on the *Lethean* ſtrand,
That ſhade whom you approve ſhall firſt be brought
To quaff oblivion in the pleaſing draught:
Whoſe thread of life juſt ſpun you would renew,
But nod, and *Clotho* ſhall rewind the Clue.
Let no diſtruſt of pow'r your joys abate,
Speak what you wiſh, and what you ſpeak is Fate.
The Raviſher thus ſooth'd the weeping fair,
And check'd the fury of his ſteeds with care.
Poſſeſs'd of beauty's charms, he calmly rode,
And love firſt ſoften'd the relentleſs God. *Euſden.*

I ſhall add ſome other paſſages for the illuſtration of this Poem. *Pluto*'s being preſently calmed by the declaration of *Lacheſis* is finely compared to the power of *Æolus* in reſtraining the violence of the winds.

——Vix illa pepercit,
Erubuitque preces, animuſque relanguit atrox,
Quamvis indocilis flecti: ceu turbine rauco
Cum gravis armatur Boreas, glacieque nivali
Hiſpidus, & Getica concretus grandine pennas
Bella cupit, pelagus, ſilvas, campoſque ſonoro
Flamine rapturus: ſi forte adverſus aënos
Æolus objecit poſtes, vaneſcit inanis
Impetus, & fractæ redeunt in clauſtra procellæ.
Lib. 1. Ver. 67.

Scarce had ſhe finiſh'd, when his gloomy mind,
Unus'd to melt, was at her pray'r inclin'd:
His fury falls, and cooling in his blood,
His paſſion ſettles and indignant mood;
As when hoarſe *Boreas* arming all the rage
Of the wild whirlwind in his hollow cage,
Prepares a wreck, and meditates from far
A bleak deſtruction, and a wintry war,
To freeze the floods, and bury in the ſnow
The leafleſs foreſts, and the ground below,

To toſs the billows of the mounting main,
And beat his ratling hailſtones on the plain;
If then his God the brazen gates oppoſe,
And in his hold the bluſt'ring tempeſt cloſe,
His ſwelling wrath in empty threats expires,
And ſilent to his cave the huffing blaſt retires.

Hughes.

AND as moſt of the Poets have deſcribed mount *Etna*, as abounding with extraordinary images, the reader may be pleaſed to ſee CLAUDIAN's manner of treating it: that of *Sicily* is immediately preceding, and they are both ſo beautiful, that I chuſe to preſent them in one view. He concludes the deſcription of *Ætna* with a ſhort philoſophical enquiry into the cauſes of thoſe ſtrange eruptions. *Lucan* often expatiates much more on the like occaſions, tho' I cannot altogether juſtify thoſe learned digreſſions, yet they are entertaining if not tedious nor too intricate.

——Trinacria quondam
Italiæ pars una fuit; ſed pontus & æſtus
Mutavêre ſitum: rupit confinia Nereus
Victor, & abſciſſos interluit æquore montes:
Parvaque cognatas prohibent diſcrimina terras.
Nunc illam ſocia raptam tellure triſculcam
Opponit natura mari: caput inde Pachyni
Reſpuit Ionias prætentis rupibus iras:
Hinc latrat Gætula Thetis, Lilybæaque pulſat
Brachia conſurgens; hinc dedignata teneri
Concutit objectum rabies Tyrrhena Pelorum.
In medio ſcopulis ſe porrigit Ætna peruſtis;
Ætna Giganteos nunquam tacitura triumphos,
Enceladi Buſtum, qui ſaucia terga revinctus
Spirat inexhauſtum flagranti pectore ſulphur.
Et quoties detrectat onus cervice rebelli
In dextrum lævumque latus: tunc inſula fundo
Vellitur, & dubiæ nutant cum mœnibus urbes.
Ætnæos apices ſolo cognoſcere viſu,
Non aditu tentare licet; pars cætera frondet
Arboribus, teritur nullo cultore cacumen.

Nunc vomit indigenas nimbos, piceaque gravatum
Fœdat nube diem: nunc molibus aſtra laceſſit
Terrificis, damniſque ſuis incendia nutrit.
Sed quamvis nimio fervens exuberet æſtu,
Scit nivibus ſervare fidem, pariterque favillis
Dureſcit glacies tanti ſecura vaporis,
Arcano defenſa gelu, fumoque fideli.
Lambit contiguas innoxia flamma pruinas.
Quæ ſcopulos tormenta rotant? quæ tanta cavernas
Vis glomerat, quo fonte ruit Vulcanius amnis?
Sive quod objicibus diſcurrens ventus opertis,
Offenſo per ſaxa furit rimoſa meatu,
Dum ſcrutatur iter, libertatemque repoſcens
Putria multivagis populatur flatibus antra.
Seu mare ſulfurei ductum per viſcera montis
Oppreſſis igneſcit aquis, & pondera librat.
Lib. 1. Ver. 140.

Trinacria join'd with *Italy* before
Th' impetuous ocean ſunder'd either ſhore,
With the ſwol'n ſurge, the rooted hills are rent,
And the land reſted from the continent.
In neighb'ring ken the ſeveral coaſts are ſeen,
And the victorious ſeas triumphant pour between.
The new-made Iſland with three angles clos'd
Is to the rage of warring waves oppos'd:
For here *Pachinus* with his ridgy ſides
Rolls off the fury of th' *Ionian* tides;
And there the billows from *Getulia*'s ſhore,
Laſh *Lilybeum* and indignant roar;
And brookleſs of reſtraint, the *Tyrrhene* main
On firm *Pelorus* tries its force in vain.
Fix'd in the midſt is fiery *Ætna* found,
Ætna for vanquiſh'd Giants ſtill renown'd:
Enceladus's load, who cruſh'd beneath
From his large breaſt does burning tempeſts breathe:
Still as the monſter, weary of the weight,
Exchanges ſides, he ſhakes the mountains height;
Sicilia heaves, and ev'ry tott'ring wall
Leans to the ground, and meditates a fall:

Her pointed ſummits from afar are ſhown,
And are acceſſible to ſight alone:
While on her other parts freſh greens appear,
And groves of trees their leafy branches rear:
No hardy hind dares turn the ſultry ſoil
On the high crown, and cultivate with toil;
For now black clouds and tempeſts force their way,
And with their loathſome pitch pollute the day.
Now maſſy fragments of the ſhiver'd ſtone,
Torn from her root, againſt the ſtars are thrown.
But tho' the burnings rage with ſuch exceſs,
Yet faithful to the ſnows, they keep perpetual peace;
And hoary winter does her ſeat maintain,
Secure of thaws and unmoleſted reign;
Coldly ſhe hovers on the freezing coaſt,
And the ſwift flames ſweep harmleſs o'er the froſt.
What forceful engines whirl aloft in air,
The craggy quarries, and the mountain tear?
From what ſtrange ſource proceeds the burning ſtream,
Which on the waſted vallies ſpouts the flame?
Or in confinement choak'd, th' impriſon'd wind
Puſhes around an open vent to find,
And in its courſe reſiſted by the rock,
Burſts the blind dens, ſubverted with the ſhock;
Or the ſea, ent'ring thro' the ſulph'rous veins,
Boils with the fires, and on the blaſted plains
Diſplodes the mingled ruin; wildly thrown,
The ſtones and liquid flames fall with deſtruction down. *Hughes.*

Ceres's anxiety and concern for fear of ſome miſchance that might have befallen her daughter, and her amazement upon the diſcovery of her loſs, is very aptly compared to the ſhepherd amazed at his return to find his flocks taken out of his fold; and to the tender care of the mother bird, who has left her young in queſt of food. The whole paſſage is full of the tendereſt ſentiments.

——*Digreditur templis: ſed nulla ruenti*
Mobilitas: tardos queritur non ire jugales.
Immeritaſque movens alterno verbere pennas
Sicaniam quærit, cum nec dum abſconderit Iden:
Cuncta pavet, ſperatque nihil: ſic æſtuat ales
Quæ teneros humili fœtus commiſerit orno
Allatura cibos, & plurima cogitat abſens:
Ne fragilem ventus diſcuſſerit arbore nidum;
Ne furtum pateant homini, neu præda colubris.
Ut domus excubijs incuſtodita remotis,
Et reſupinati neglecto cardine poſtes,
Flebilis & tacitæ ſpecies apparuit aulæ;
Non expectato reſpectu cladis, amictus
Conſcidit, & fractas cum crine avellit ariſtas.
Hæſerunt lachrymæ; non vox, non ſpiritus oris
Redditur, atque imis vibrat tremor oſſa medullis.
Succidui titubant greſſus foribuſque recluſis,
Dum vacuas ſedes, & deſolata pererrat
Atria, ſemirutas confuſo ſtamine telas,
Atque interceptas agnoſcit pectinis artes.
Divinus perit ille labor, ſpatiumque relictum
Audax ſacrilego ſupplebat Aranea textu.
Nec deflet, plangitve malum: tamen oſcula telæ
Figit, & abrumpit mutas in fila querelas.
Attritoſque manu radios projectaque penſa
Cunctaque virgineo ſparſa oblectamina ludo
Ceu natam, preſſat gremio: caſtumque cubile
Deſertoſque toros, & ſicubi ſederit olim
Perlegit: attonitus ſtabulo ceu paſtor inani,
Cui pecus aut rabies Pœnorum inopina leonum,
Aut populatrices infeſtavêre catervæ:
Serus at ille redit, veſtataque paſcua luſtrans
Non reſponſuros ciet, imploratque juvencos.

Lib. 3. Ver. 137.

Then iſſuing from the fane, ſhe took her way,
And thinks her Dragons linger with delay:
Impatiently ſhe laſhes on their flight,
And ſeeks *Sicilia* ere ſhe loſt the ſight
Of *Ida*'s hill; obnoxious to her tears,
Nothing ſhe hopes, and ev'ry thing ſhe fears.

So

So fears the mother-bird whoſe callow young
On a low aſhe's trembling boughs are hung:
And while ſhe fetches food, her little breaſt
With anxious doubts is carefully poſſeſt,
Leſt the rude wind ſhould ſhake them from the tree,
Or buſy boys the humble palace ſee,
Or cruel ſerpents ſeize the tender prey,
And bear the helpleſs children far away.
Expos'd when *Ceres* ſaw th' unguarded dome,
Their gate wide open, and an empty room,
All huſh'd within; ſhe yielded to her fears,
Her flowing garments mournfully ſhe tears,
The chaplet on her head, and rends her yellow hairs:
Her tears congeal, her voice is now no more,
And a deep trembling ſeizes her all o'er.
She ventures in, and through the quiet houſe
And ſilent courts with ſtagg'ring paces goes;
And, as ſhe rolls around her heavy eyes,
Th' unfiniſh'd purple in the woof ſhe ſpies.
In vain the maid her heav'nly art had try'd,
Arachne boldly had the reſt ſupply'd,
And ſtretch'd her filmy threads from ſide to ſide.
She weeps not, nor with cries her loſs deplores,
But kiſs'd the veſt, and dumb complainings pours:
The rock, the wheel, and ev'ry little toy
Which did the Virgin's ſportful hours employ,
As her loſt *Proſerpine* ſhe fondly preſt
Cloſe in her lap, and hugg'd them on her breaſt;
Flies to her empty bed, and ev'ry place
Where her child us'd, does the ſad mother trace.
So looks the herdſman, when he finds the ſtall
Silent of lowings and the bleating call,
Which wolves or nightly lions have betray'd,
Or plund'ring ſoldiers to the camp convey'd:
Too late the groom returns, and o'er the plain
And neighb'ring paſtures ſeeks the raviſh'd train,
And makes his mimic cries and wonted ſounds in vain.

Hughes.

I ſhall

I ſhall give no more quotations of this Poem: But as CLAUDIAN is a Poet, whoſe writings next to *Ovid*'s are admirably adapted to improve the fancy of a young Poet, and abound with a variety of ſubjects and kinds of Poetry, I thought after having cautioned the reader of his foible, that I could not do better than to dwell ſomewhat largely upon him.

I ſhall cloſe what I have ſaid of the Rape of *Proſerpine* with a general reflection on EPIC POETRY.

OF all the works of genius over which the Muſes preſide, there is nothing ſo difficult as to write a perfect Epic Poem. Even *Homer* and *Virgil*, are found not exempt from faults when examined by the ſevere rules of exact Criticiſm; and yet, tho' ſome perſons of good taſte have reproved me as partial to *Virgil*, whoſe conduct I have elſewhere magnified beyond meaſure, I think upon good conſideration, and after comparing his judgment with that of all the writers before and after him in the Epic way, I find no cauſe to retract my former opinion of him, but on the contrary, it ſeems that many of his errors, as the *Critics* call them, are owing to his ſingular modeſty, and the great veneration he had for *Homer* the great Father of all ſublime Poetry, whoſe vaſt and unbounded genius ſeemed above that exact attention neceſſary to preſerve that juſt diſtribution of parts, and fine proportion they muſt bear to the whole. But as all I can ſay would fall ſhort of their excellency, let us return to CLAUDIAN, whom we muſt allow his due praiſe even in the Epic Way, when we recollect what a great Interval of time paſſed between him and *Virgil*, during which the *Roman* Empire was continually declining both in arts and arms; this conſideration will incline us to treat his faults more favourably, at the ſame time that we may endeavour to avoid them: ſince it is next to a prodigy to ſee him breaking thro' ſo many impediments, and riſe to a perfection that ſets him above moſt of the Poets that preceded him, as he is infinitely beyond all that ſucceeded him for many ages.

THE

THE reſt of his Poems are either Panegyrics or Invectives, with ſome Epiſtles and Epigrams. Several Critics are of opinion, that his Invectives are the moſt perfect of all his Writings, and that he has diſcovered in them all a ſuperior talent for Satire. Thoſe againſt *Eutropius* and *Rufinus* have ſo many admirers that it is hard to ſay which of the two deſerves the preference: Not to be too prolix, I ſhall content my ſelf with preſenting the reader a sketch of the latter, in order to give ſome idea of CLAUDIAN's invention in this ſpecies of Poetry, which being a mixture of ſatire and praiſe require an artiſt's hand.

THE Poet introduces his ſubject with this reflection, that tho' he had hitherto doubted whether the world was governed by Providence, ſeeing the proſperity of wicked men, yet the downfall of that wicked miniſter *Rufinus* now fully convinced him of his errour and juſtified the Gods. After an invocation of the Muſe, he proceeds to relate how the Fury *Alecto* being enraged at the univerſal tranquillity of the *Roman* Empire under *Theodoſius* I. aſſembles in council all the furies and plagues of Hell, and propoſes to make war on the Gods. *Megæra* riſing up, declares againſt this deſign, but tells them, if they were content to plague the lower world, ſhe had her ſelf trained up *Rufinus*, who would be a fit Inſtrument for their purpoſe. After having given his character, ſhe propoſes to preſer him in the Imperial Court. The whole aſſembly applaud this propoſal, and *Megæra* breaking it up, dips her torch in the flames of the River *Phlegethon*, and riſes up from Hell near the confines of *Italy* and *Gaul*. The Sun darkens at her appearance, diſmal cries fill the air, and the adjacent countries are ſhocked with an earthquake. The Fury diſguiſed like an old woman haſtens to the city where *Rufinus* dwelt, and at firſt ſight of him ſeems amazed to find in him a being more miſchievouſly inclined than her ſelf. After having reproved *Rufinus* for waſting his youth at home in obſcurity, when the higheſt honours wait him abroad, ſhe tells him of the

power of her magic charms; and to convince him of it, ſhe transforms the houſe where he was into a ſplendid palace. Tempted by this prodigy and the promiſed glory, *Rufinus* declares his readineſs to obey the Fury's inſtructions, and ſails away to *Conſtantinople*, where by his vile practices and ſervile adulation he ſoon gets preferment. The Poet goes on to deſcribe his inſatiable avarice, and the general miſery occaſioned by his oppreſſions; and then exſpatiates in praiſe of integrity and moderation, and ſets *Rufinus* above the moſt celebrated tyrants for cruelty. The Poet proceeds to ſhew how *Stilico* was at this time the only ſanctuary the oppreſſed had to fly to: deſcribes his victory over the *Getæ*, after he had by his prayers obtained the aſſiſtance of *Mars*: *Stilico* and the God of War are repreſented as routing the *Barbarians* with equal valour. In the mean time *Megæra* exults at the miſeries which *Rufinus* had brought on the Empire by his male-adminiſtration, and inſults the Goddeſs of Juſtice, who ſate diſconſolate in the palace, and bids her retire to Heaven. The Goddeſs tells the Fury, that *Honorius* was coming to reſtore peace and plenty to the ſtate, a deſcription of whoſe happy effects concludes the 1ſt book.

Claudian begins the ſecond with an account of *Stilico*'s glory, who is now intruſted with the chief adminiſtration of affairs, and commands the united forces of the two empires. *Rufinus* fallen into diſgrace, and deſpairing to regain his loſt power, propoſes at leaſt to involve the Empire in the ſame ruin with himſelf; in order to which he calls in the barbarous Nations, who invade the eaſtern Empire from all parts, and lay ſiege to *Conſtantinople*. Whilſt the inhabitants prepare for their defence, *Rufinus* appears pleaſed at the public calamities, and inſults the people in their diſtreſs. *Stilico* in the mean time advances to their relief, and paſſes the *Alps*: But *Rufinus* by his intrigues extorts an order from *Arcadius*, to bid *Stilico* retire with the weſtern forces, and for the

the eaſtern army to return to *Conſtantinople*, without attacking the *Huns*. *Stilico* obeys; the eaſtern legions regret his departure, and enter into a conſpiracy againſt *Rufinus*; who triumphing at his having thus ſupplanted *Stilico*, and full of the expectation of being declared *Cæſar*, advances with the Emperor *Arcadius* to meet the army; who, after having paid their duty to their prince, cloſe in upon *Rufinus* and maſſacre him. The general joy of the people on this occaſion is deſcribed by the Poet, who repreſents Hell itſelf as receiving *Rufinus* with horror. CLAUDIAN proceeds to deſcribe the tribunal of *Minos* and *Rhadamanthus*, and the ſeveral puniſhments of the wicked, and relates how *Rufinus* is condemned to ſuffer all the united tortures of the damned, and to be thruſt down into the bottom of *Tartarus*.

NEXT to his Invectives, we are to conſider ſeveral panegyrical Poems of CLAUDIAN. Of this ſort are thoſe on the 3d, 4th, and 6th Conſulſhip of *Honorius*, and that in honour of *Mallius Theodorus* on the ſame occaſion: The praiſes of *Stilico*, in three books; and two Poems, one of the *Getic*, and the other of the *Gildonic* war. The Poet has ſtretched his fancy to the utmoſt in theſe Poems, to found *Stilico*'s praiſe. It is admirable to ſee in how many places he has drawn his character to advantage, without repeating the ſame thoughts or images. He makes him ſhine in the ſeveral relations of parent, general, huſband, patron, friend and ſtateſman; and add a luſtre to every office, by his manner of diſcharging it. But as true praiſe is founded on truth, the Poet does not borrow many ornaments from fiction, but aims at a noble unadorned manner of deſcribing the great actions of his Hero. I ſhould be too long, were I to dwell on the particular beauties to be met with in all theſe Poems: I ſhall only take notice of a few.

IN the Poem of the third conſulſhip of *Honorius*, after having deſcribed the dawn of that prince's courage in his infancy, when he comes to ſpeak of it as he approached to manhood, he makes the following noble compariſon.

Ut

Ut leo quem fulvæ matris ſpelunca tegebat
Uberibus ſolitum paſci, cum creſcere ſentit
Ungue pedes, & terga jubis, & dentibus ora;
Jam negat imbelles epulas, & rupe relicta
Gætulo comes ire Patri, ſtabuliſque minari
Æſtuat, & celſi tabo ſordere juvenci. Ver. 27.

So the young lion, whom with care at home
The tender dam had ſuckled, longs to roam:
Now with grown claws his nervous foot diſtends,
And down his neck the brindled mane deſcends;
The cave forſakes, diſdains ignoble food,
Seeks out his ſire, and roars about the wood:
Now meditates t' invade the trembling ſtall,
And triumphs in the ſtrongeſt heifer's fall.

Theodoſius the Great, the father of *Honorius*, had gained a ſignal victory over the *Barbarians* that had over-run all *Spain*; in which he ſeemed as it were favoured by Providence, that raiſed a ſtrong wind, which blew with ſo much violence, that it turned back the enemy's arrows and javelins on themſelves. This circumſtance is taken notice of by the Poet in a very ſublime manner.

Te propter gelidis Aquilo de monte procellis
Obruit adverſas acies, revolutaque tela
Vertit in auctores, & turbine reppulit haſtas.
O nimium dilecte Deo! cui fundit ab antris
Æolus armatas hyemes; cui militat æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad claſſica venti. Ver. 93.

For thee the North pours forth his freezing blaſt,
And furious lays the adverſe armies waſte:
Met by the whirlwind, back the ſpear recoils,
Attacks his maſter, and his purpoſe foils.
Hail, favourite of Heav'n! for whom the winds
Arm'd with their fierceſt rage, the God unbinds;
The dreadful hoſt embattled fill the sky,
And at thy ſignal ſwift with ruin fly.

THE Apotheoſis of *Theodoſius* and taking his place among the Conſtellations is thus deſcribed, when he had

had ſpoke his laſt words to *Stilico*, to whom he recommended his children.

——*Nec plura locutus,*
Sicut erat liquido ſignavit tramite nubes:
Ingrediturque globum Lunæ, limenque reliquit
Arcados, & Veneris clementes advolat auras.
Hinc Phœbi permenſus iter, flammamque nocentem
Gradivi, placidumque Jovem, ſtetit arce ſuprema
Algenti qua Zona riget Saturnia tractu.
Machina laxatur cæli, rutilæque pateſcunt
Sponte fores; Arctoa parat convexa Bootes,
Auſtrales reſerat portas ſuccinctus Orion,
Invitantque novum ſidus, pendentque viciſſim
Quas partes velit ille ſequi, quibus eſſe ſodalis
Dignetur ſtellis, aut qua regione morari.
O decus ætherium, terrarum gloria quondam,
Te tuus Oceanus, natali gurgite laſſum
Excipit, & notis Hiſpania proluit undis.
Fortunate parens, primos cum detegis ortus
Adſpicis Arcadium, cum te proclivior urges
Occiduum viſus remoratur Honorius ignem;
Et quocunque vagos flectas ſub cardine curſus
Natorum per Regna venis, qui mente ſerena
Maturoque regunt victas moderamine gentes,
Sæcula qui rurſus forment meliore metallo.
Ver. 162.

This ſaid, the Heroe with a train of light
Up to the Moon deſcrib'd his radiant flight;
Then takes his courſe, fair *Venus'* ſtar to find;
His next eſſay leaves *Mercury* behind:
Thence to bright *Phœbus'* paths he wings his way,
Advancing meets hot *Mars'* deſtructive ray;
Jove's milder ſphere, ſtill ſoaring upwards, paſt,
And in cold *Saturn*'s orbit reſts at laſt.
Mean while, the heav'nly portals ſpreading wide,
Admit him with glad welcome on each ſide:
Bootes with his Wane the North unfolds;
The Southern gate *Orion* waiting holds;

Each

Each Conſtellation him invites to ſhare
Their glories, and æthereal honours wear:
Each clime each region courts the Heroe's ſtay,
Each ſtar officious ſtrives to clear the way.
O thou, bright ornament to Heav'n aſſign'd,
As once on Earth the pride of human-kind,
With native ſtreams th' *Atlantic* meets thy beams,
And *Spaniſh* waters lave thy wearied limbs:
Thrice happy parent, whoſe firſt courſe diſplays
Thy beams on thy *Arcadius*, and ſurveys
Thy lov'd *Honorius* with ſlow ſetting rays:
Still as through various climes thy orbit roves,
O'er diſtant regions correſponding moves,
Through their wide realms thou go'ſt, whoſe upright ſway
Has taught a world ſubmiſſive to obey.
By them ev'n vanquiſh'd nations hope to find
Peace, and a Golden Age reſtore mankind.

In the fourth Conſulſhip, *Honorius* and *Arcadius* when aſſociated by their Father to the Empire, are compared to *Caſtor* and *Pollux*: *Theodoſius* is deſcribed as returning in Triumph with his two ſons in the chariot with him.

Lætior augurio genitor, natiſque ſuperbus
Jam paribus duplici fultus conſorte redibat,
Splendebatque pio complexus pignora curru.
Haud aliter ſummo gemini cum patre Lacones
Progenies Ledæa ſedent; in utroque relucent
Frater, utroque ſoror; ſimili Chlamys effluit auro;
Stellati pariter crines: juvat ipſe Tonantem
Error, & ambiguæ placet ignorantia matri.
Eurotas proprios diſcernere neſcit alumnos.

Ver. 203.

At this fair omen their exulting ſire
Feels a new ſpring of joy his breaſt inſpire,
With ſecret pride their growing virtue views,
In each ſo equal, he can neither chuſe.
Grac'd with theſe partners of his crown and fame,
Triumphant in his car the Heroe came.

Such

Such *Jove* himſelf appear'd, when by his ſide
Caſtor and *Pollux* ſtood, fair *Leda*'s pride.
In each the brother and the ſiſter ſhine,
Their golden robes alike and hair divine:
Ambiguous error from their likeneſs flows,
Ev'n old *Eurotas* no diſtinction knows:
Their dubious mother views the pleaſing cheat,
And *Jove* himſelf ſmiles at the fair deceit.

Theodoſius's advice to *Honorius* in the ſame Poem is full of the nobleſt ſentiments, and the beſt inſtructions how a Prince ſhould govern his People, and ſhew the great liberty of the Poet and docility of the Prince to whom they are addreſſed.

BUT inſtead of ſingling out any more paſſages from theſe Poems, I ſhall conclude this Poet's life with part of his Epithalamium on *Honorius* and *Maria*, which is perhaps the compleateſt Poem that was ever written on this ſubject: and I chuſe to do ſo, becauſe it has been very happily tranſlated by Mr. *Euſden*; ſo that both the art and genius of the Poet may appear with advantage even to the *Engliſh* reader.

Mons latus Ionium Cypri præruptus obumbrat
Invius humano greſſu, Phariumque cubile
Proteus & ſeptem deſpectat cornua Nili:
Hunc neque candentes audent veſtire pruinæ,
Hunc venti pulſare timent, hunc lædere nimbi:
Luxuriæ Venerique vacat: pars acrior anni
Exulat, æterni patet indulgentia veris.
In campum ſe fundit apex: hunc aurea ſepes
Circuit, & fulvo defendit prata Metallo.
Mulciber, ut perhibent, his oſcula conjugis emit
Mœnibus, & tales uxorius obtulit arces.
Intus rura micant, mœnibus quæ ſubdita nullis
Perpetuum florent, Zephyro contenta colono:
Umbroſumque nemus, quo non admittitur ales,
Ni probet ante ſuos Diva ſub judice cantus.
Quæ placuit, fruitur ramis; quæ victa recedit.
Vivunt in Venerem frondes, omniſque viciſſim

Fælix

Fælix arbor amat: nutant ad mutua palmæ
Fœdera; populeo ſuſpirat populus ictu;
Et platani platanis, alnoque aſſibilat alnus.
Labuntur gemini fontes: hic dulcis, amarus
Alter, & infuſis corrumpunt mella venenis.
Unde Cupidineas armavit fama ſagittas.
Mille pharetrati ludunt in margine fratres,
Ore pares, habitu ſimiles, gens mollis amorum:
Hos Nymphæ pariunt: illum Venus aurea ſolum
Edidit: ille Deos, cælumque & ſidera cornu
Temperat, & ſummos dignatur figere reges.
Hi plebem feriunt: nec cætera Numina deſunt.
Hic habitat nullo conſtricta licentia nodo,
Et flecti faciles iræ, vinoque madentes
Excubiæ, lachrymæque rudes, & gratus amantum
Pallor, & in primis titubans audacia furtis,
Jucundique metus, & non ſecura voluptas;
Et laſciva volant levibus perjuria pennis:
Hos inter petulans alta cervice juventas
Excludit ſenium luco: procul atria Divæ
Permutant radios, ſylvaque obſtante vireſcunt.
Lemnius hæc etiam gemmis exſtruxit & auro,
Admiſcens artem pretio, trabibuſque Smaragdis
Suppoſuit cæſas hyacinthi rupe columnas:
Beryllo paries, & Iaſpide lubrica ſurgunt
Limina, deſpectuſque ſolo calcatur Achates.
In medio glebis redolentibus area dives
Præbet odoratas meſſes: hic mitis amomi,
Hic caſiæ matura ſeges, Panchaia ſurgunt
Cinnama, nec ſicca frondeſcunt vimina coſto,
Tardaque ſudanti prorepunt balſama ligno.
Quo poſtquam delapſus amor, longaſque peregit
Penna vias; alacer paſſuque ſuperbior intrat.
Cæſariem tunc forte Venus ſubnixa coruſco
Fingebat ſolio, dextra lævaque ſorores
Stabant Idaliæ: largos hæc nectaris imbres
Irrigat; hæc morſu numeroſi dentis eburno
Multifidum diſcrimen arat: ſed tertia retro
Dat varios nexus, & juſto dividit orbes
Ordine, neglectam partem ſtudioſa relinquens;

Plus-

Plus error docuit: ſpeculi nec vultus egebat
Judicio: ſimilis tecto monſtratur in omni,
Et rapitur quocunque videt; dum ſingula cernit,
Seque probat, nati venientis conſpicit umbram,
Ambroſioque ſinu puerum complexa ferocem.

In the fam'd *Cyprian* iſle a mountain ſtands,
That caſts a ſhadow into diſtant lands:
Acceſs in vain by human feet is try'd,
Its lo'ty brow looks down with noble pride
On bounteous *Nile* thro' ſeven wide channels ſpread,
And ſees old *Proteus* in his oozy bed.
Along its ſides no hoary froſts preſume
To blaſt the myrtle ſhrubs, or nip the bloom.
The winds with caution ſweep the riſing flow'rs,
While balmy dews deſcend and vernal ſhow'rs.
The rolling Orbs no wintry horrors bring,
Fix'd in th' indulgence of eternal ſpring.
Unfading ſweets in purple ſcenes appear,
And genial breezes ſoften all the year.
The nice luxurious ſoul uncloy'd may rove
From pleaſures ſtill to circling pleaſures move,
For endleſs beauty kindles endleſs love.

The mountain, when the ſummit once you gain,
Falls by degrees, and ſinks into a plain,
Where the pleas'd eye may flow'ry meads behold
Enclos'd with branching oar, and hedg'd with Gold:
Or where large crops the gen'rous glebe ſupplies,
And yellow harveſts, unprovok'd, ariſe:
For by mild Zephyrs fan'd, the teeming ſoil
Yields ev'ry grain, nor asks the peaſant's toil.
Theſe were the bribes, the price of heav'nly charms,
Theſe *Cytherea* won to *Vulcan*'s arms:
For ſuch a bliſs he ſuch a gift beſtow'd,
The rich, th' immortal labours of a God.

A ſylvan ſcene, in ſolemn ſtate diſplay'd,
Flatters each feather'd warbler with a ſhade;
But here no bird its painted wings can move,
Unleſs elected by the Queen of Love:
E'er made a member of this tuneful throng,
She hears the ſongſter, and approves the ſong.

The

The joyous victors hop from ſpray to ſpray,
The vanquiſh'd fly with mournful notes away.
Branches in branches twin'd compoſe the grove,
And ſhoot, and ſpread, and bloſſom into love.
The trembling palms their mutual vows repeat,
And bending poplars, bending poplars meet.
The diſtant plantanes ſeem to preſs more nigh,
And to the ſighing Alders, Alders ſigh.
Blue heav'ns above them ſmile, and all below
Two murm'ring ſtreams in wild meanders flow;
This mix'd with gall, and that like honey ſweet,
But ah! too ſoon th' unfriendly waters meet.
Steep'd in theſe ſprings (if verſe belief can gain)
The darts of Love their double pow'r attain:
Hence all mankind a bitter ſweet have found,
A painful pleaſure, and a grateful wound.
Along the graſſy banks in bright array
Ten thouſand little loves their wings diſplay.
Quivers and bows their uſual ſport proclaim,
Their dreſs, their ſtature, and their looks the ſame:
Smiling in innocence, and ever young,
And tender as the Nymphs from whom they ſprung;
For *Venus* did but boaſt one only ſon,
And roſy *Cupid* was that boaſted one:
He uncontrol'd thro' heav'n extends his ſway,
And Gods and Goddeſſes by turns obey.
Or if he ſtoops, on earth great princes burn,
Sicken on thrones, and wreath'd with lawrel mourn,
Th' inferior pow'rs o'er hearts inferior reign,
And pierce the rural fair or homely ſwain.
Here Love's imperial pomp is ſpread around,
Voluptuous liberty that knows no bound,
And ſudden ſtorms of wrath, which ſoon decline,
And midnight watchings o'er the fumes of wine:
Unartful tears and hectic looks, that ſhow
With ſilent eloquence the lover's woe:
Boldneſs unfledg'd, and to ſtol'n raptures new,
Half trembling ſtands, and ſcarcely dares purſue;
Fears that delight, and anxious doubts of joy,
Which check our ſwelling hopes, but not deſtroy;

And ſhort-breath'd vows, forgot as ſoon as made,
On airy pinions flutter thro' the glade.
Youth with a haughty look and gay attire,
And rolling eyes that glow with ſoft deſire,
Shines forth, exalted on a pompous ſeat,
While ſullen cares, and wither'd age retreat.
Now from afar the palace ſeems to blaze,
And hither would extend its golden rays;
But by reflexion of the grove is ſeen
The Gold ſtill varied by a waving green;
For *Mulciber* with ſecret pride beheld
How far his skill all human art excell'd;
And grown uxorious, did the work deſign
To ſpeak the Artiſt and the Art divine.
Proud columns tow'ring high, ſupport the frame,
That hewn from *Hiacynthian* quarries came:
The beams are em'ralds, and yet ſcaree adorn
The ruby walls on which themſelves are born.
The pavement, rich with veins of agate, lies,
And ſteps, with ſhining jaſpers, ſlip'ry riſe.
Here ſpices in parterres promiſcuous blow,
Not from *Arabia*'s fields more odours flow.
The wanton winds through groves of Caſſia play,
And ſteal the ripen'd fragrancies away.
Here with its load the mild Amomum bends,
There Cinnamon in rival ſweets contends.
A rich perfume the raviſh'd ſenſes fills,
While from the weeping tree the Balm diſtills.
At theſe delightful bow'rs arrives at laſt
The God of Love, a tedious journey paſt;
Then ſhapes his way to reach the fronting gate,
Doubles his majeſty, and walks in ſtate.
It chanc'd, upon a radiant throne reclin'd,
Venus her golden treſſes did unbind:
Proud to be thus employ'd, on either hand
Th' *Idalian* ſiſters, rang'd in order, ſtand.
Ambroſial eſſence one beſtows in ſhow'rs,
And laviſhly whole ſtreams of *Nectar* pours.
With Iv'ry combs another's dextrous care,
Or curls, or opens the diſhevel'd hair:

A third, induſtrious, with a nicer eye
Inſtructs the ringlets in what form to lie:
Yet leaves ſome few, that not ſo cloſely preſt,
Sport in the wind, and wanton from the reſt.
Sweet negligence, by artful ſtudy wrought,
A graceful error, and a lovely fault.
The judgment of the glaſs is here unknown,
Here mirrors are ſupply'd by ev'ry ſtone.
Where'er the Goddeſs turns, her image falls,
And a new *Venus* dances on the walls.
Now while ſhe did her ſpotleſs form ſurvey,
Pleas'd with love's empire and almighty ſway,
She ſpy'd her ſon, and fir'd with eager joy,
Sprung forwards and embrac'd the fav'rite boy.

Euſden.

A Critical and Hiſtorical

DISSERTATION

BY WAY OF

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

LIVES

OF THE

Roman Dramatic Poets.

SECT. I.

Of the Riſe and Progreſs of the GREEK DRAMA.

THE politeſt nations of antiquity have always conſidered Dramatic Poetry as a very elegant and inſtructive branch of their public diverſions. In order therefore to trace it from its original, let us begin by a ſhort enquiry into the nature of thoſe public entertainments among them.

THE wiſeſt nations have always thought it expedient, to preſerve the memory of ſignal Victories, or other remarkable inſtances, as they imagined, of the divine favour, by ſolemn feſtivals appointed at certain ſeaſons, in honour of the Deity, whoſe benefits at

that time they were desirous to commemorate. These religious Rites were the objects of the magistrate's peculiar care, and were generally accompanied by such sports and entertainments as were suitable to the taste and inclination of the people. The greatest lawgivers truly judged, that the conveniences of society were least on the common people's side, who were tied down to hard labour at home, and most exposed to the chance of war abroad. In order to alleviate these hardships, those excellent men appointed them stated days of rest and exemption from their usual labours: and by consecrating these days so set apart, first to divine service; and then allowing the use of proper exercises and diversions, they gave their people fresh spirit and courage to return with cheerfulness to their work, and filled their minds with the just sentiments of gratitude and reverence to those superior powers, to whom, as they had been erroneously taught, they conceived themselves indebted for the various blessings of life.

THESE diversions, that at first were rude and ridiculous, nay sometimes indecent, time insensibly improved into very useful and pleasing entertainments; especially when men of thought and leisure were openly encouraged, by the liberality of the state, and care of proper magistrates, to exert their talent in regulating and polishing these public schools of instruction. As honourable as this appellation may seem, the *Greek* stage will deserve it, though in its best state it might labour under some irregularities and defects: Yet there it was, that the generous principle of liberty and justice, of piety and compassion, and indeed of every social virtue, were recommended in the most authorized and agreeable manner. The fate of tyranny and the punishment of vice, was set forth in terrible examples drawn chiefly from the history of their ancestors, or of the neighbouring states. This was the business of Tragedy, while Comedy ridiculed and strongly exposed the absurdities and follies of private life. Comedy

indeed was for a long time too bitter, and levelled at particular perſons, and therefore was in time reſtrained: Yet it well deſerves our notice, that it was not thoroughly reformed, 'till about the time of *Alexander* the Great, when the ſtates of *Greece* had retained nothing but the ſhadow of their former liberty, having loſt all their glory in a poor ſubjection to the arbitrary will of the *Macedonian* Princes.

THIS is a general account of the ſtate of the *Greek* Stage. The particular ceremony to which Dramatic Poetry owes its riſe, was the feaſt of *Bacchus*. The occaſion of ſacrificing a he-goat to this God, is thus related. When *Bacchus* had found out the method of planting and cultivating vines, and making wine, he communicated the ſecret to *Icarius*, who was then ſovereign of a ſmall territory in *Attica*. One day *Icarius* having taken a goat, that was gnawing his vines, and devouring his grapes, he juſtly looked upon this creature as a profeſſed enemy to *Bacchus*; and accordingly ſlew the goat as an agreeable victim to that God, or rather ſacrificed the miſchievous animal to his own reſentment. The neighbours were invited to partake of his joy; who growing merry with wine, began to dance round the altar, ſinging the praiſes of the Deity who had given them ſo pleaſant a liquor. The whole company were ſo well pleaſed with the ceremony, which at the ſame time they looked upon as a ſolemn act of Religion, that it was reſolved by common conſent to celebrate it annually with ſongs and dances in honour of *Bacchus*. The time pitched upon was their vintage, whence it was called * TRYGODY, *the Song of the Vintage*; and from the Goat that was ſacrificed, TRAGEDY, or *the Song of the Goat*.

WHEN *Theſeus* had brought the diſperſed inhabitants of *Attica* to live together in *Athens*, the people

* Τρυγωδία, ſic dicta, ἀπὸ τῆς τρύγης, *vindemia*; vel παρὰ τὴν τρύγα, quod fœcibus ora oblinerent. *Athen.* Lib. 2. Hinc Τρυγωδία, *convicior, ſcurriliter illudo.*

carried

carried this ceremony thither with them, and began to celebrate it in the city, near the temple of *Bacchus*. In time their beſt Poets became concerned on this occaſion, and by their compoſitions in honour of *Bacchus*, diſputed the prize of Poetry. Afterwards it was celebrated by a large chorus of muſicians with ſongs and dances, and the execution of the ſolemnity was removed from the Temple of *Bacchus* to the *Forum*, but the God had the Goat ſtill ſacrificed to him; and now the hymn began to be more particularly diſtinguiſhed at *Athens* by the name of *Tragedy*. The like ceremony, but more groſly executed, continued to be obſerved in the country villages, whence it derived the name of *Comedy*, which ſignifies a village ſong. Thus began the diſtinction of the two Poems, that at firſt were one and the ſame thing, from the different places where they were executed. This account is agreeable to what *Plutarch*, *Athenæus*, *Donatus*, and others give of this matter.

We have ſeen how the *Greek* Drama is founded on the feaſt of *Bacchus*. Before we proceed to enquire into the ſeveral ſteps of its improvement, the following plain and elegant account of that rural ſolemnity from *Tibullus*, will agreeably confirm what has been ſaid above of its rude beginning.

Agricola aſſiduo primum laſſatus aratro
Cantavit certo ruſtica verba pede,
Et ſatur arenti primum eſt modulatus avena
Carmen, ut ornatos duceret ante Deos.
Agricola & minio ſuffuſus, Bacche, rubenti
Primus inexperta duxit ab arte choros.

Lib. 1. El. 1.

The cheerful clowns from labour free rehearſe
Their aukward ſongs in rude unpoliſh'd verſe;
In honour of their Gods with chaplets crown'd,
From ill-tun'd pipes the hollow notes reſound.
With belly full, and face beſmear'd with red,
Theſe artleſs husbandmen their chorus led.

IT is natural to ſuppoſe that the genius of ſome of theſe country fellows, thus merrily aſſembled, might prompt them to give a little turn and harmony to their extempore ſong; which being reliſhed by the company, others might thereby be induced to attempt the ſame at the next feſtival. Thus they began to ſtudy the graces of language on theſe occaſions, which muſt inſenſibly acquire ſome ornaments that diſtinguiſhed it from the common manner. He that accompanied the ſong with his pipe, may be ſuppoſed to have endeavoured to excel in proportion as his diligence was applauded. The merriment concluded with dancing, and jeſting on each other. When this practice of the country had been carried, as has been ſaid, to *Athens*, there aroſe ſome perſons, though as yet hardly known by the name of Poets, who undertook to compoſe proper hymns for the ſolemnity. After this they added ſome ſatirical ſtories, which they rehearſed themſelves to divert the people. This might give riſe to what was afterwards called the *Satirica Poeſis* of the *Greeks*.

THE *Dionyſia* or feaſts of *Bacchus* were celebrated at *Athens* three times a year, which anſwer to our *March*, *April*, and *January*; and the *Panathenaics* in *Auguſt*. It was at theſe ſeaſons that Plays were acted.

Theſpis, who flouriſhed in the 61ſt Olympiad, about 530 years before CHRIST, was the firſt that attempted a farther improvement: He made up a kind of company, whom he choſe out of the chorus, and taught them to act on a ſtage; though his was nothing but a cart, with which he and his company went about from one village to another. The entertainment was partly the rehearſal of ſome remarkable adventure of one of their heroes, to which was added a pleaſant ridicule on ſome of the company. The whole at firſt ſeemed only deſigned to relieve the chorus, who were tired inceſſantly with ſinging the praiſes of *Bacchus* and *Ceres*. *Theſpis* finding his contrivance ſucceed beyond expectation, poliſhed his dialogue,

ſo

ſo that ſome of his laſt pieces are ſaid to have been tolerably dramatical: that and the farcical entertainment that was added to it, met with ſuch applauſe where-ever he went, that *Solon* thought fit to reſtrain him by law, as fearing it might tend to debauch the people's minds, and divert them too much from their uſual labours. It ſeems probable, that *Theſpis* was for exhibiting his medleys at all times, which the magiſtrate prudently thought fit to confine to certain ſeaſons. However, this gave a check to that progreſs *Theſpis* might otherwiſe have made in improving the Drama; which, tho' he had made very conſiderable advances, wanted many eſſential improvements. One perſon ſeems to have ſpoke ſeveral parts in his pieces: and thus we find among the *Romans* at firſt, that *Livius Andronicus* acted his pieces alone. But ſtill *Theſpis* has the honour to be counted the father of the *Greek* Tragedy.

Ignotum Tragicæ genus inveniſſe Camœnæ
Dicitur, & plauſtris vexiſſe poemata Theſpis,
Quæ canerent agerentque peruncti fæcibus ora.
HOR. de Arte Poet.

Theſpis therefore added three things to Tragedy; the Dialogue, that was compoſed on ſome heroic ſubject, and declaimed by an actor diſtinct from the chorus; the daubing the faces of his actors with the lees of wine for a diſguiſe; and 3dly, the uſe of the cart, by way of ſtage, to diſtinguiſh and ſeparate them the better from his audience.

Æſchylus, who made a farther progreſs in improving Tragedy, was born in the 4th year of the 63d Olympiad. He had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valour in the battles of *Marathon*, *Salamis*, and *Platææ*; but his genius to Poetry gave him a much greater reputation. *Pauſanias* ſays, (*in Atticis*) that while *Æſchylus* was yet a youth, *Bacchus* had warned him in a dream to write Tragedies. He had formed his genius by the ſtudy of philoſophy and reading *Homer*'s works, which the *Greeks* now began to conſider as

the beſt foundation both of Tragedy and Comedy. *Æſchylus* laid aſide the old raillery and buffoon ſtile, formed his ſubject upon a regular plan, to which he made the dances of his chorus ſubſervient (*Athenæus*, Lib. 1. *Deipnoſophiſt.*) which now became regular actors, and added another interlocutor to the one *Theſpis* had introduced. The magiſtrates ſoon became ſenſible of the uſefulneſs of theſe improvements, and granted him all neceſſary privileges and encouragement. Part of the public money that was applied for exhibiting the public games, began to be appropriated to the decorations of the Theatre: And about this time *Agatharchus* a skilful architect, by the direction of *Æſchylus* applied himſelf to make many theatrical improvements, in the ſcenes, *&c.* of which he afterwards publiſhed a treatiſe (*Vitruvius*, L. 7. Præf.) *Æſchylus* was the firſt who found out the true ſtile of Tragedy, which according to * *Quintilian, Inſt.* Lib. 10. Cap. 1. he ſometimes affected to a fault; and ſo much did the *Athenians* honour his memory and eſteem his writings, that afterwards they by a public decree gave the Poets leave to reviſe his pieces, which often wanted poliſhing and a greater correctneſs of ſtile, and then to bring them on the ſtage; ſo that he gained the prize of Poetry again many years after his death: And it was cuſtomary for boys to come with branches of myrtle in their hands, and repeat his verſes at their moſt elegant entertainments: and *Ptolomy Euergtes* gave the *Athenians* fifteen talents for the original copy of his works, for which we have no leſs authority than *Galen*'s. *Æſchylus* is ſaid to have been ſo very pathetic and ſucceſsful in painting diſtreſs, that he never failed making his audience ſhare the grief he repreſented. But his machinery was ſometimes rather too violent; as when in his *Eumenides*, to the great terror of the

* *Tragœdias primum in lucem Æſchylus protulit, ſublimis & gravis, & grandiloquus ſæpe ad vitium, propter quod correctas ejus fabulas in certamen deferre poſterioribus Poetis Athenienſes permiſêre, ſuntque eo modo multi coronati.*

female

female part of his audience, he filled the ſtage with a chorus of fifty furies: this was found ſo dreadful, that from that time forward the number of the chorus was not allowed to exceed fifteen. He alſo masked his actors, dreſſed them in a long flowing garment, and taught them to walk in the buskin, that they might perſonate the characters of heroes with more decency. *Horace* takes notice of moſt of theſe circumſtances.

Poſt hunc perſonæ pallæque repertor honeſtæ
Æſchylus, & modicis inſtravit pulpita tignis,
Et docuit magnumque loqui, nitique Cothurno.
De Arte Poet.

ACCORDING to *Plutarch*, *Æſchylus* uſed to animate his vein with wine, before he ſate down to compoſe. He died in the 60th year of his age, the 4th year of the 78th Olympiad, from the building of *Rome* 281, before *Chriſt* 463.

Sophocles was born the 2d year of the 71ſt Olympiad, 492 before Chriſt. He, in conjunction with *Euripides*, brought Tragedy to its perfection in *Greece*; added a third, and ſometimes a fourth interlocutor, in the dialogue, and left nothing to be deſired either in the ſtile, the ſentiments, character, or diſpoſition of the ſubject. He likewiſe introduced the cuſtom of oppoſing one Tragedy to another, in the contention for the prize, whereas before there were either three called *Trilogia*, or four *Tetralogia*, the 4th being a ſatirical piece. When he was 65 years of age, he commanded ſome forces jointly with *Pericles*. The Poets uſed themſelves to teach their actors to declaim their parts, but his voice was ſo weak, he was forced to get others to inſtruct them. He lived to 90 years of age.

Euripides was born the firſt year of the 75th Olympiad. * *Quintilian* ſeems to prefer him to *Sophocles*,

* *Is, in ſermone (quod ipſum reprehendunt, quibus gravitas & cothurnus & ſonus Sophoclis videtur eſſe ſublimior) magis accedit oratorio generi; & ſententijs denſus, & in iis quæ a ſapientibus tradita*

and particularly obſerves, that *Menander* ſtudied and imitated him. He was called the Philoſopher of the Poets; and his intimacy with *Socrates* was ſo great, that it was commonly reported, that Philoſopher aſſiſted him in writing his Tragedies. *Euripides* died the ſame year with *Sophocles*, being 75 years old. But I need not dwell on the merit of theſe two celebrated Poets, whoſe works were the models of all the Tragic writers after them, both *Greeks* and *Romans*.

LET us now take a ſhort view of the degrees by which Comedy was improved. It lay for ſome time confounded with the old chorus and village medley, 'till, when *Æſchylus* had made ſuch great improvements in Tragedy, ſome Poets began to conceive, that, by imitating his conduct, they might make Comedy a regular work diſtinct from the Chorus of *Bacchus*; which they afterwards laid aſide, not adapting it to their Poem, as had been done in Tragedy. But we find ſome very whimſical chorus's in *Ariſtophanes*'s Comedies, as of clouds, frogs, *&c.* In *Ariſtotle*'s time, Comedy was not yet perfect: *Menander* introduced the new Comedy ſome years after his death.

AFTER *Lyſander* had taken *Athens*, he ſet up the government of the thirty Tyrants there; and 'till then the old Comedy had continued. The ſubjects of theſe Comedies were often not feigned but real, at leaſt the principal circumſtances were ſo: the whole being a ſevere and ingenious invective, and ſatyrical repreſentation of the vices of the greateſt men in the ſtate, whoſe very names the Poets had the courage to mention. That this liberty might be abuſed, appears from what *Socrates* ſuffered by the ſcurrilous wit of *Ariſtophanes*; and the noble patience of the Philoſopher on this occaſion, is very well known. The actors

tradita ſunt, pene ipſis par, & in dicendo ac reſpondendo cuilibet eorum, qui fuerunt in foro diſerti, comparandus: in affectibus vero cum omnibus mirus, tum in iis qui miſeratione conſtant facile præcipuus. Hunc & admiratus maxime eſt, ut ſæpe teſtatur, & ſecutus, quanquam in opere diverſo, Menandrum. Inſt. Lib. 5. cap. 1.

masks

masks imitated mens countenances to the life. Yet ſo ſtrongly were the old *Athenians* poſſeſſed with the generous love of liberty, that nothing but tyranny attempted to reſtrain this extraordinary liberty of the ſtage: perhaps it might occaſionally prove a good curb on the conduct of their great men, ſince it is otherwiſe unaccountable how ſo polite and wiſe a people ſhould have endured it ſo long. But it ſoon diſpleaſed the thirty Tyrants, whoſe conduct could not bear examination, and would endure no cenſure. *Lamachus* one of them, made a ſevere Decree, that forbid the Actors naming perſons on the ſtage. This put the Poets under a neceſſity of uſing feigned names: but ſtill the characters of the perſons pointed at were ſo well drawn, that it was impoſſible for ſo intelligent an audience to miſtake them; and this was called the middle Comedy. It flouriſhed 'till *Alexander* the Great; who, having overthrown the united forces of *Greece* at the battle of *Cheronea*, and by the terror of the deſtruction of *Thebes*, forced the *Greeks* to ſubmit to his yoke, commanded that the liberties the Poets took, ſhould be farther reſtrained. It ſeemed as if that proud ſon of *Ammon* feared the Wit of a people, whoſe arms he deſpiſed. Upon this order aroſe the new Comedy, which now became a general imitation of common life. *Menander*, *Terence*'s model, brought it to the higheſt perfection it was thought capable of receiving. Four of *Terence*'s Plays are confeſſed tranſlations from him, and ſo are ſome of *Plautus*'s: and the greateſt *Roman* in arts and arms allowed the *African* but half the genius of the *Greek*. We have only a few fragments remaining of the many excellent pieces *Menander* wrote, which are reckon'd to have amounted to 109 in all. The loſs of them is one of thoſe injuries, which time and the barbarous nations, if not rather the fooliſh bigottry of Monks, has done the commonwealth of learning.

We have already ſaid ſomething of the ſatyrical pieces. *Pratinas* was the firſt, who made any ſucceſsful attempts this way: he flouriſh'd about the 70th Olympiad. We may here take occaſion to obſerve, that during

ring the feaſt of *Bacchus*, the Poets uſed to exhibit four dramatic pieces the ſame day, and on the ſame ſubject; as the adventures of *Ulyſſes*, the anger of *Achilles*, &c. The laſt of the four was a ſatyrical piece. This cuſtom, as we have obſerved, continued till *Sophocles* got it altered.

THUS have we taken a ſummary view of the riſe and progreſs of the *Greek* Stage. The *Roman*, which is more immediately the ſubject of our preſent enquiry, comes next to be conſidered.

SECT. II.

Of the ROMAN DRAMA.

THE occaſion that introduced ſcenic games among that grave people, *Livy* has related to the following purpoſe.

THE city being ſorely afflicted with the plague, after having conſulted the ſacred books, the ſenate decreed, that * Players ſhould be ſent for out of *Tuſcany*; and upon this account Scenic Games were firſt exhibited at *Rome*, after ſeveral other vain attempts to appeaſe the anger of the Gods, and leſſen the violence of the ſickneſs. This happened in the year of *Rome* 392, above a hundred years before *Livius Andronicus* brought a regular Play on the ſtage, in imitation of the *Greeks*, whoſe Theatre had already attained its greateſt perfection. † *Livy* goes on to obſerve, that 'till this time, 392, the *Romans* had no other diverſions, but the ſhews and exerciſes of the *Circus*. That warlike People had as yet found no leiſure to think of the more refined diverſions of the mind. Theſe

Tuſcan

* They were only Dancers on a Stage.

† *T. Sulpitio Petico, C. Licione Stolone Conſulibus, peſtilentia fuit: eo nihil dignum memoria actum, niſi quod pacis Deûm expiſcenda cauſa tertio tum poſt conditam urbem Lectiſternium fuit: & cum vis morbi nec humanis conſiliis, nec ope divinâ levaretur, victis ſuperſtitione animis, Ludi quoque ſcenici nova res bellicoſo populo, nam circi modo ſpectaculum fuerat; inter alia cæleſtis ira placamina inſtituti dicuntur. Cæterum parva quoque, ut principia fermè omnia, & ea ipſa peregrina res fuit: Sine carmine ullo, ſine*

imitandorum

Tuſcan actors (continues the Hiſtorian) at firſt only danced to the flute, after their own country manner. Afterwards the *Roman* youth began to imitate them, making extempore verſes at the ſame time, in which they attempted, though groſly enough at firſt, to rally each other. In time too, they tried to adapt their motions to the cadence of their words. The thing took preſently, and by frequent practice received ſome farther improvement. Then there aroſe actors of their own, who compoſed a ſort of medley (*Satyras*) which was ſet to muſic, and acted in a proper manner with ſuitable motions, that kept time with the flutes, a rude kind of Recitativo. Some years afterwards, *L. Andronicus* ventured to repreſent a regular play after this medley, himſelf acting the Play, as all the Poets in thoſe early times did. Being often called upon by the audience to act ſome paſſages over a-

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imitandorum carminum actu Ludiones ex Hetruriâ acciti, ad Tibicinis modos ſaltantes, haud indecoros motus, more Thuſco dabant. Imitari deinde eos juventus, ſimul inconditis inter ſe jocularia fundentes, verſibus cœpere: nec abſoni à voce motus erant. Accepta itaque res, ſæpiùs uſurpando excitata, vernaculis Artificibus, quia hiſter Thuſco verbo Ludio vocabatur, nomen hiſtrionibus inditum: qui non ſicut ante Feſcennino verſu ſimilem incompoſitum temerè ac rudem alternis jaciebant; ſed impletas modis Satiras, deſcripto jam ad Tibicinem cantu, motuque congruenti peragebant. Livius *poſt aliquot annos, qui ab Satiris auſus eſt primus argumento fabulam ſerere, idem ſcilicet, id quod omnes tum erant, ſuorum carminum actor, dicitur, cùm ſæpius revocatus vocem obtudiſſet, veniâ petitâ puerum ad canendum ante Tibicinem cùm ſtatuiſſet, canticum egiſſe aliquanto magis vigente motu, quia nihil vocis uſus impediebat. Inde ad manum cantari Hiſtrionibus cœptum, diverbiaque tantum ipſorum voci relicta. Poſtquam lege hâc fabularum ab riſu ac ſoluto joco res avocabatur, & ludus in artem paulatim verterat, juventus, hiſtrionibus fabellarum actu relicto, ipſa inter ſe, more antiquo, ridicula intexta verſibus jactitare cœpit, quæ inde Exodia poſtea appellata; conſertaque fabellis patriſſimum Atellanis ſunt. Quod genus ludorum, ab Oſcis acceptum, tenuit juventus; nec ab hiſtrionibus pollui paſſa eſt. Eo inſtitutum manet, ut actores Atellanarum nec tribu moveantur, & ſtipendia, tanquam expertes artis ludicræ faciant. Inter aliarum parva principia rerum, ludorum quoque prima origo ponenda viſu eſt, ut appareret, quàm ab ſano initio res in hanc vix opulentis regnis tolerabilem inſaniam venerit.* Decad. 1. L. 7.

gain,

gain, and his voice growing hoarſe by it, he begged leave of the audience to introduce a boy inſtructed for the purpoſe to rehearſe or ſing the words to the flute. This was a relief to *Andronicus*, who hereupon acted with more life and vigour; the actor having now only the dialogue part to declaim. We ſhall explain this part of the relation in the ſequel of this eſſay.

BY theſe and other regulations, of which we do not know the particulars, Stage-Plays became the object of a particular art; and the *Roman* youth leaving them (continues *Livy*) to the Poets and Players, continued to act the former medleys themſelves, which were afterwards called *Exodia*, from their being acted at the end of the *Atellane* Plays. Theſe Plays the *Romans* firſt learnt from the *Oſci*, or antient *Tuſcans*, and never admitted the Players to act a part in them. And from thence came this cuſtom, which afterwards obtained the force of a Law, that the actors of thoſe Plays called *Attellanæ*, were never degraded from their tribe, as other common Players, but were admitted to ſerve in the wars, as if they had never acted on the ſtage. *Livy* concludes this curious account with the following judicious reflection. "I was "willing to give the public an account of the firſt ori- "ginal of Scenic Games, that we may obſerve to "what an intolerable degree of extravagance they are "now brought, ſo as to become burthenſome even to "the richeſt ſtates; and this from ſo ſober and religi- "ous a beginning."

THE *Roman* Dramatic Poetry was at firſt divided into three ſorts, ſome of which they afterwards ſubdivided into diſtinct ſpecies. The three ſorts were Tragedy, Comedy, and the Atellane pieces. Their Tragedy was either *Palliata*; ſo called from the *Greek* habit *Pallium*, which the actors wore, the characters being *Greek*; or *Prætextata*, from the *Prætexta*, the habit of the *Roman* Noblemen, in which the characters were *Roman*. So *Horace*,

Vel qui Prætextas, vel qui docuere Togatas;

Speaking of a *Roman* Tragedy and Comedy. The *To-*

gata

gata was their ſerious and genteel Comedy, the characters being drawn from perſons of good rank, whence it has been ſometimes called *Prætextata* as well as their Tragedy. The *Toga* was the *Roman* Gown. Hence *Virgil.*

Romanos rerum Dominos Gentemque Togatam.

The *Tabernaria* or low Comedy, was ſo called from *Taberna* that properly ſignifies a Shop, thereby implying, that the characters were drawn from low life; therefore the Poet to ſay he would not publiſh his works declares, they ſhall be found in no ſhop and on no ſhew-board,

Nulla taberna meos habeat neque pila libellos.

The * *Atellanæ Fabulæ*, ſeem to have been a mixture

* It is an obſcure point of Criticiſm to determine juſtly, whether the *Romans* had Satirical Pieces, *Satiri*, as *Horace* calls them; or whether they altered their *Atellane* Plays, and made them in imitation of the *Greek* Satires. The latter is the opinion of *Diomedes* the Grammarian: His words follow, *Tertia eſt ſpecies Fabularum Latinarum, quæ à civitate Oſcorum Atella, in primum cœptæ, Atellanæ dictæ ſunt, Argumentis dictiſque jocularibus ſimiles Fabulis Græcis Satyricis.* There is a third ſpecies of *Roman* Comedy called *Atellane*, from *Atella*, a town in *Tuſcany*, where they firſt began to be acted, and which in their ſubject and pleaſantry of wit and humour are like the *Greek* ſatirical Plays. The only difference (adds the Critick) is this, that in the *Greeks* Pieces were Satires or other buffoon characters, whereas in the *Atellanes* there was ſome lewd character. *Perſonæ obſcœnæ* *Voſſius* corrects this reading, and ſays it ſhould be read, *Perſonæ Oſcæ*, *Tuſcan* Characters; which I am the more inclinable to admit, becauſe theſe obſcene characters are ſaid to have been more peculiar to the *Mimes*. But as one cannot imagine *Horace* would give Rules for the Satires, if the *Romans* had none, we can have no other way to reconcile him with *Diomedes*, than by ſaying, that the *Romans* in time laid aſide their *Tuſcan* characters to introduce Satires in their *Atellane* Plays; which therefore muſt be conſidered as Tragi-Comedies, and not as Farces, an error *Horace* cautions againſt at large in his Art of Poetry. It is then to be ſuppoſed, that like the *Greek* ſatirical Plays they were compoſed on the ſame ſubject with a Tragedy, after which they might be acted. And this is particularly agreeable to the precepts which *Horace* gives the writer of Satires. Some of thoſe writers ſeemed to have miſtaken the true character of this Poem, and to have confounded all rules of decency,

ture of Tragedy and Comedy, not unlike the *Greek* Satires: The Actors (as has been already hinted) were generally young gentlemen, who often took the liberty to retrench or add to their parts during the repreſentation, juſt what they thought fit: Tho' perhaps this liberty may more properly be ſuppoſed to have been taken in the *Exodia* or Farces that were always acted after theſe Atellane Plays. Beſides other privileges which *Livy* has mentioned, in the paſſage above quoted, we may add this; that the audience could not oblige them to unmask, an affront which was often put upon the other actors, though never ſo conſiderable. So we find *Laberius* a *Roman* Knight, a celebrated writer of Mimes (which were the loweſt of dramatic entertainments, and wherein there ſeems to have been but one actor, who was generally the Author himſelf) was forced to unmask, and complains very handſomely of the affronts done him by *Cæſar*, who ow'd him a grudge for his bitter railleries againſt

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decency, by a prepoſterous mixture of gravity and low ridicule in the characters, by making the Heroe, who in the Tragedy had appeared with all the dignity becoming his character, in the *Atellane* fall into the low humour and ſtile of the *Tabernaria*; that ſort of Comedy, whoſe characters were all low and ridiculous. By thus ſuppoſing the *Atellane* Plays and Satires in *Horace*'s Art of Poetry to be the ſame thing, it may eaſily be preſumed that the dignity of the Actors, added to the great antiquity of this kind of Dramatic Poem, might make a man of *Horace*'s fine taſte, who ſtudied ſo much to improve that of his Countrymen, think it worth his care to reduce this entertainment to a more elegant regularity than what had been practiſed before. There is a paſſage in *Cicero*'s epiſtle to *Pætus*, which ſhews, that in his time the Poets were apt to make the *Atellanes* degenerate into *Mimes*, by introducing obſcene characters in them; which is one of thoſe faults *Horace* would have his writer of Satires avoid; *Nunc venio* (ſays *Cicero*) *ad jocationes tuas: quum te ſecundum Oenomaum Accii, non ut olim ſolebat, Atellanum, ſed ut nunc fit, Mimum introduxiſti.* I come now to your raillery, where after having cited the *Oenomaus*, "a Tragedy of the Poet *Accius*, "you have made, not a true Atellane, as was formerly the cuſ-"tom, but a perfect Mime, according to the common Practice "now-a-days." The *Atellanes* had a Chorus, which was what farther diſtinguiſhed them from Comedies, and ſeems to argue their being like the *Greek* ſatirical pieces.

him.

him. This actor was ſo ſlightly ſhod as to appear almoſt bare-foot: hence he was called *Planipes*. The word *Mimi* comes from the *Greek* Μιμεῖσθαι to imitate. There was another ſpecies of actors, who performed all in dumb ſhew: They were called *Pantomimes*. They were ſo excellent in their action, that they could repreſent entire Comedies and Tragedies, and were particularly in vogue under the twelve *Cæſars*: They ſtudied the moſt lively expreſſion of all the paſſions and ſentiments by their geſticulation. *Bathyllus* and *Pilades* were two Pantomimes ſo highly conſidered in the time of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, that all *Rome* was divided into factions on their account. Upon complaint of this made to him, that Emperor ſent for *Bathyllus*, and very much reproved him for being the occaſion of ſuch diſturbances and diviſions. The Player's anſwer ſpoke him a man of admirable ſenſe, as well as great preſence of mind: "Nothing could "happen better for *Cæſar*, than that the people "ſhould always amuſe themſelves with the trifling "diſputes of two Players." I leave the reader to make the application.

SECT. III.

Of ſome Particulars relating to the DRAMA *of the Antients.*

THERE were ſome circumſtances peculiar to the *Greek* and *Roman* Stage, which come next to be explained, *viz.*

1. The BUSKIN, *Cothurnus.*
2. The SOCK, *Soccus.*
3. The MASK, *Perſona.*
4. The CHORUS.
5. The FLUTES.

THE Buskin and Sock were ſuch eminent marks of diſtinction between Tragedy and Comedy, that by a metaphor they are frequently made to expreſs by antient

antient Authors the ſublime and low ſtile in all other compoſitions.

THE Buskin, *Cothurnus*, is thought to have been a high ſquare boot, which by raiſing the foot conſiderably, made the actors appear larger than the common ſize of men; ſuch as the heroes were ſuppoſed to have been of old time: Beſides their ſlow and ſolemn ſtep, made them tread in a manner ſuitable to the ſtate and ſolemnity of Tragedy.

THE Sock was a more ſlight and eaſy covering for the foot, and rather proper to women; ſo that their being worn by the men is thought to have denoted the inferiority of the characters in Comedy to thoſe in Tragedy: But I rather imagine, the lightneſs of theſe Socks might be the chief reaſon of their being uſed by the actors in Comedy.

THE * Mask, *Perſona*, is very pertinently derived by *A. Gellius* from *perſonare* to ſound through, becauſe their make was ſo contrived as to aſſiſt the voice, and make it ſound with greater clearneſs and diſtinction. Madam *Dacier* was the firſt who obſerved in the draughts of a famous old manuſcript of *Terence*, that the theatrical Masks of the antients were not made like ours; for they had not only wide mouths, but came over the whole head, with a kind of peruke or hair faſtened to them, proper to the age and character of the perſon the actor repreſented. But as that learned Lady might have ſaid when ſhe quoted the Fable, we need not recur to theſe draughts for a proof of this, ſince we have the poſitive authority of *Phædrus* for it. In the fable of the Fox and Maſque, he makes *Renard* exclaim, ſpeaking to the mask, *O quanta ſpecies cerebrum non habet!* What a fine head you have without brains! Which words can with no propriety be ſaid of our common masks †.

And

* *Tully de Oratore* intimates, one could ſee the action of the very eyes diſtinctly through the mask.

† See *Plin. Nat. Hiſt.* Lib. 7. Cap. 53. where he ſpeaks of *M. Oſilius Hillarius* a famous Comedian at an entertainment he made

And if the masks of the antients had not covered the whole head, it would have been abſurd in *Phædrus* to alter *Æſop*'s manner, who relates the ſame of a carved head the Fox ſaw at a ſtatuary's. But that ingenious freed-man of *Auguſtus* was too judicious not to conſider what he did; and his alteration is certainly for the better, becauſe of the mask's being hollow and having nothing within it, whereas the carved head was ſolid at leaſt, tho' it had no brains: And as the theatrical masks were fitted up with great art to expreſs the countenance and humour of the perſons repreſented, this paſſage of *Phædrus* muſt be admitted as an unqueſtionable proof of that which the draughts above-mentioned very happily ſerve to confirm. The wide opening of the mask at the mouth, not only aſſiſted the actor's voice, but according to the different manner of his ſtriking the lips and breath againſt a thicker or thinner plate of braſs, as the character to be repreſented required, enabled him very much to humour his voice agreeably to his ſubject: there being proper artiſts to inſtruct the young actor in this management *. Such a ſtrength and good ma-

made on his Birth-day, dying ſuddenly as he was looking at the mask he had that day worn, and which he ſet before him, and crowned with a garland. *Is cum populo admodum placuiſſet natali die ſuo, conviviumque haberet, edita cœna calidam in pultario popoſcit; ſimulque perſonam, ejus diei acceptam intuens, coronam e capite ſuo in eam tranſtulit, tali habitu rigens, nullo ſentiente donec accubantium proximus tepeſcere potionem admoneret.*

* *Quintilian* has obſerved, that the Actors had great variety of masks, which they had often changed both in Tragedy and Comedy. *Inſt.* L. 1. C. 1. *Major in perſonis obſervatio eſt apud Comicos Tragicoſque, multis enim utuntur & variis.* And a little lower the ſame great Critic goes on to obſerve of the Masks, *Itaque in iis, quæ ad ſcenam componuntur fabulis, artifices pronunciandi a perſonis quoque affectus mutuantur, ut ſit Niobe in tragœdia triſtis, atrox Medea, attonitus Ajax, truculentus Hercules. In Comœdiis vero præter aliam obſervationem qua ſervi, lenones, paraſiti, ruſtici, milites, vetulæ, meritriculæ, ancillæ, ſenes auſteri ac mites, juvenes ſeveri ac luxurioſi, matronæ, puellæ inter ſe diſcernuntur: patet ille, cujus præcipuæ partes ſunt, quia interim concitatus, interim lenis eſt, altero erecto, altero compoſito ſupercilio: Atque id oſtendere maxime Latinis actoribus variis eſt, cum iis quas agunt partibus congruat.* Cap. 1. Lib. 7.

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nagement of the voice was highly neceſſary on the *Greek* and *Roman* Stages. We have already ſaid, their Plays were exhibited by the care of a proper magiſtrate, and their theatres were made to contain, not a ſmall audience, but the greater part of the inhabitants: For their Plays were acted only occaſionally, at certain feaſts, or at the funerals of great men; when they were repreſented with ſuch circumſtances of grandeur and magnificence as almoſt exceed the imitation of the moſt powerful ſtates at preſent.

THE Ædileſhip was the firſt office of diſtinction among the *Romans*. This magiſtrate was ſurveyor of the publick buildings, and had the care of exhibiting at his own charge ſhews and games to the people. As this office paved the way to thoſe of the greateſt power, which were only to be obtained by the favour and votes of the People, it was always exerciſed in a very ſplendid and liberal manner. *Julius Cæſar*, by his profuſion and munificence when Ædile, wherein he ſpent almoſt his whole patrimony, ſeems to have beforehand, as it were, laid out for the Dictatorſhip. Under the Emperors, every thing of this kind was performed with yet more prodigality and pomp; ſo that the modern Stages cannot give us any tolerable idea of the antient Theatres. That of *Pompey* the Great, is ſaid to have had places for 80,000 men, beſides the *Cavea*, or Pit, which was left for the vulgar to ſtand in, and in which at other times all kinds of Exerciſes were performed.

NOW if we conſider the extent of ſuch a Theatre, and the diſtance of the greater part of the audience from the ſtage, and that the antients acted always by day-light, the ſcene being always laid in the ſtreet, or ſome open portico, the uſe and expediency of their masks will evidently appear: for the natural features of the face at ſuch a diſtance, and without the help of falſe lights, could not appear diſtinguiſhable enough to expreſs, in that lively manner that the antients required, their ſeveral characters on the ſtage. Beſides, their extream nicety to adapt the masks to

every

every ſeveral character, very much contributed to the entertainment of the audience; ſince hereby they could better imagine they ſaw the perſons repreſented in the play, than we can, who are ſtill apt to loſe the character in the player. Thus we think of *Booth* and *Wilks*, when we ſhould only conſider *Shakeſpeare*'s *Henry* the VIIIth and VIth: not to mention this other diſadvantage of the ſame face appearing in the different characters of Prince and Pimp, Heroe and Villain, old and young. *Horace* makes *Æſchylus* the firſt inventer of masks, but they received many improvements ſince.

THE Chorus is defined to be a company of actors, repreſenting ſuch an aſſembly of perſons as might properly be ſuppoſed preſent, where the affair is tranſacted.

THE *Greek* Dramatic Poets were exact obſervers of the Chorus in Tragedy: but it ſeems the Poets ſoon found it needleſs in Comedy; the few remaining *Latin* Tragedies that go under *Seneca*'s name, are moſt of them faulty in this reſpect, and one of them has no Chorus at all. *Horace* gives the following rules for the behaviour of the Chorus. They were ſometimes maids of honour, and ladies attending on princeſſes, courtiers, friends, counſellors, *&c.* The Chorus likewiſe juſtified ſoliloquies, or rather made them not ſuch: and theſe ſoliloquies and the part of the Chorus we know were the nobleſt parts of the Poem. The *Choragus*, or chief of the Chorus, muſt be a very good Actor, his part was ſet to the fineſt muſic, which accompanied his Declamation. But let us ſee *Horace*'s rules.

Actoris partes Chorus, officiumque virile
Defendat, neu quid medios intercinat Actus
Quod non propoſito conducat & hæreat aptè.
Ille bonis faveatque & concilietur amicis,
Et regat iratos, & amet peccare timentes.
Ille dapes laudet menſæ brevis, ille ſalubrem
Juſtitiam, legeſque & apertis otia portis:

Ille

Ille tegat commiſſa : Deoſque precetur & oret,
Ut redeat miſeris, abeat Fortuna ſuperbis.

De Art. Poet.

THE meaning of this will beſt be underſtood in proſe. "Let the Chorus act a part in the Play during the acts, and be conſidered only as one *Dramatis Perſona*; and in the interlude ſay nothing "but what is agreeable to and connected with the "ſubject: Let it expreſs great willingneſs to protect "the good, to maintain and ſupport the intereſt of its "friends, to pacify thoſe that are provoked to anger: "It muſt be full of love: to ſuch as abhor and commit crimes, ſhould recommend ſobriety and temperance; and praiſe the excellent benefits that the "ſtrict obſervation of juſtice beſtows on mankind. "It muſt praiſe the happy attendants of peace and "quiet; inviolably keep the ſecrets that it is intruſted "with, and earneſtly pray the Gods to recall their "bleſſings of proſperity and happineſs from the "wicked, and mercifully to relieve the good that "labour under affliction and diſtreſs." Thus we ſee the Chorus was to be one continued leſſon of the moſt ſublime morality.

AT firſt Comedy had a Chorus as well as Tragedy, The licentiouſneſs of its ſatire, and the bitterneſs of its raillery, ſeem to have been the occaſion of its being forbid at *Athens*; I ſuppoſe about the time, when the old Comedy was laid aſide. I have *Horace* for my Author.

——— ——— *Choruſque*
Turpiter obticuit, ſublato jure nocendi.

THE Flutes, *Tibiæ*, are generally reckoned one of the obſcureſt points of antiquity; and yet without ſome idea of their uſe, the very titles of *Terence*'s Plays are not to be underſtood. *Horace* only ſays, that during the ſimplicity of the earlieſt times, the Flutes gave a ſlender ſound, having but few holes; but that the luxury of his age had ſo increaſed the number of them, that it rival'd the trumpet's ſound;

and

and that the ſtringed inſtruments, *Fides*, had been improved much after the ſame manner.

Tibia non ut nunc orichalco vincta, tubæque
Æmula, ſed tenuis, ſimplexque foramine pauco.
Aſpirare & adeſſe choris erat utilis, atque
Nondum ſpiſſa nimis complere ſedilia flatu.
Quo ſane populus numerabilis, utpote parvus,
Et frugi, caſtuſque, verecunduſque coibat.
Poſtquam cæpit agros extendere victor, & urbem
Latior amplecti murus: vinoque diurno
Placari Genius feſtis impune diebus,
Acceſſit numeriſque modiſque licentia major.
Indoctus quid enim ſaperet, liberque laborum
Ruſticus, urbano confuſus, turpis honeſto?
Sic priſcæ motumque & luxuriam addidit arti
Tibicen, traxitque vagus per pulpita veſtem.
Sic etiam fidibus voces crevere ſeveris.

Some Commentators underſtand what is ſaid in the laſt line, as meant only of the *Greek* Tragedies; but it is abſurd to think *Horace* would mention it here, if he did not likewiſe mean it of the *Roman* Tragedies, which were accompanied ſometimes by ſtringed as well as wind inſtruments. *Dio* expreſly ſays, that *Nero* played on the harp in ſome Tragedies, and does not mention it as any innovation made by that prince in the muſic of Tragedy. It is notorious how that Emperor affected to excel in the execution of all the parts of a Muſician, an Actor, and Poet.

Instead of giving the Reader Madam *Dacier*'s account of theſe flutes, which ſeems hardly intelligible, tho' it is counted the beſt we have had yet, let us try by a paſſage from *Donatus*, and another from *Diomedes*, if we ſhall be more ſucceſsful in clearing this matter. *Donatus*'s words follow from his fragment of Tragedy, *&c.* *Diverbia hiſtriones pronunciabant, Cantica vero temperabantur modis non a poeta ſed a perito artis muſicæ factis. Neque enim omnia iiſdem modis in uno cantico agebantur, ſed*

Jæpe mutatis, ut ſignificant, qui tres numeros in Comediis ponunt, qui tres continent mutatos modos cantici illius. Qui hujuſcemodi modos faciebant, nomen in principio fabulæ ſcriptoris & actoris ſuperponebant. Hujuſmodi adeo carmina ad tibias fiebant, ut his auditis, multi ex populo ante diſcerent quam fabulam acturi ſcenici eſſent, quàm omnino ſpectatoribus ipſis antecedens titulus pronunciaretur. Agebantur autem tibiis paribus aut imparibus, dextris aut ſiniſtris. Dextræ autem & Lydiæ ſua gravitate ſeriam Comadiæ dictionem pronunciabant. Siniſtræ & ſarranæ acuminis levitate jocum in Comœdia oſtendebant. Ubi autem dextrâ & ſiniſtrâ acta fabula inſcribebatur, miſtim joci & gravitates denunciabantur. Thus far the *Grammarian*. I ſhall have occaſion afterwards to conſider the former part of this paſſage, let us now particularly attend to what relates immediately to the Flutes. We find them here diſtinguiſhed into right and left-handed. The right, which he calls *Lydian*, had few holes, and ſent forth a low deep ſound, and therefore accompanied the ſerious parts of the Play, to which their tone was ſuited. The left, which he calls *Sarrane*, had more holes, and yielded a clear, ſhrill, and louder ſound, and were played upon during the more lively and pleaſant ſcenes of comedy. When the ſcene was partly ſerious and partly merry, the Muſicians plaid on both ſorts occaſionally, and then the play was ſaid to be acted *tibiis imparibus*, with unequal Flutes; that is, ſome right, and ſome left-handed. But if they us'd only right, or only left-handed, it was then ſaid to be perform'd *tibiis paribus dextris, aut ſiniſtris*. Where the Numbers 1, 2, 3, are ſet to the titles of a Comedy, it denoted, that the Flutes were chang'd ſo often in the courſe of the play. This leads me to take notice of Madam *Dacier*'s miſtake, who notwithſtanding the clearneſs of what *Donatus* here ſays, thought the muſic was never chang'd during the courſe of the play's acting; and therefore being to account for the meaning of the words in the title of *Terence*'s

plays,

plays, ſhe underſtood them to ſignify, that the play was acted with flutes not ſuited to the ſubject itſelf, but to the occaſion when the play was acted. For example, if a comedy was acted at the funeral games, then it would be accompanied with ſerious muſic; that is, right-handed Flutes, and ſo *vice verſa*. But ſuch a ſuppoſition is too abſurd to be admitted. For how can one bear to imagine one hears an arch fellow joking upon the ſtage, whilſt his declamation is accompanied by the heavy ſound of a deep-ton'd Flute? Or at other times, to hear a grave ſtory told, as one may ſay, to the tune of a *Scotch* jigg? But the Fact ſeems to be no more than this; that the Flutes were ſhifted with the ſcene, as in the *Heautontimorumenos*, or *Self-Tormentor* of *Terence*, the melancholic ſcene between the two old fellows, which is the firſt in the play, was declaim'd, or acted with the grave, or right-handed Flutes, and other ſcenes that had a mixture of the ſerious and merry were accompanied by the right and left-handed Flutes together. This very obſervation will enable us to explain the title of the *Andrian*, which runs thus. *Acta Ludis Megalenſibus, M Fulvio, M. Glabrione Ædilibus Curulibus, egerunt L. Ambivius Turpio, L. Attilius Præneſtinus. Modos fecit Flaccus Claudii, tibiis paribus dextris & ſiniſtris: & eſt tota Græca. Edita M. Marcello, C. Sulpicio Coſſ.* Here it is evident, that theſe words *Modos fecit Flaccus Claudii, tibiis paribus dextris & ſiniſtris*——make one ſenſe together, and can ſignify nothing elſe, but that *Flaccus*, the ſon of *Claudius*, had ſet the words of the *Andrian* to muſic, which was to be executed in ſome parts with right, and in others with left-handed Flutes. In the Life of *Terence* we ſhall take occaſion to explain the reſt of the title, which does not relate to the Flutes.

Diomedes the Grammarian mentions another diſtinction of Flutes, namely, that there was one ſort of them to accompany the chorus, and another the ſoliloquies; for ſo we ſhall find *Cantica* to ſignify. But this muſt chiefly relate to Tragedy, whoſe muſic

was more labour'd than that of Comedy. *Quando chorus canebat, choricis tibiis, id eſt choraulicis artifex concinebat: In Canticis autem Pythaules Pythici reſponſabat.* This latter muſician took great pains to excel in his art, ſtriving to anſwer, that is, to equal the actor's voice, whom he accompanied: For ſo *reſponſabat*, a frequentative verb, muſt ſignify; and not that he anſwered the player, when he had done acting, by the muſic between the acts. I hope the attentive and learned reader will find this account of the Flutes more intelligible, when he has examin'd and compar'd it with the following account of the muſic of the antients, as far as it relates to the Drama.

SECT. IV.

Of the DRAMATIC MUSIC *of the Antients.*

WHAT is here ſaid will be only hiſtorical, without pretending to any knowledge of this art in particular. However, ſomething of this kind I thought might be expected, as neceſſary to clear up ſeveral difficulties, and ſeeming abſurdities relating to the conduct of the Theatre of the Antients.

THEIR notion of muſic, as an Art, was infinitely more extenſive than ours. For under this name they included the whole art of elocution and action as reducible to rules, and taught by method. Thus dancing, declaiming, and geſticulation, fell under the general head of muſic, as well as ſinging and muſic now properly ſo call'd.

THE ſaltation or dancing of the Antients was characterized, and not meerly compoſed, as ours, of motions form'd to give grace and freedom to the body. It comprehended all the art of geſture and theatrical action, which is rather executed by the face and hands, than the feet. The miſunderſtanding of this has occaſion'd the wrong tranſlations of many paſſages in antient Authors, who have taken the word

Saltatio

Saltatio in the ſenſe abovementioned. Nay, *Apuleius* (*Metamorph. L.* 10.) has gone ſo far, as to uſe the verb *ſaltare*, to ſignify the action of the eyes, which the antient orators very carefully ſtudied. Speaking of *Venus*, he ſays, *& non nunquam ſaltare ſolis oculis.* It is alſo uſed to ſignify acting a part in a play: As *Suetonius* ſays of *Caligula*; *Magno Tibiarum & ſcabellorum crepitu, cum palla tunicaque talari proſiluit, & deſaltato cantico abiit. Quintilian*, who is for ſending his young orator to the dancing-ſchool, to learn a juſt action, would have him, at the ſame time, avoid the declamatory tone of the player, and the action of the dancer: *Non Comœdum in pronunciatione, non Saltatorem in geſtu facio.* (*Inſt. L.* 1. *C.* 14.) The action he would recommend is, that which naturally fits and accompanies the words, not ſuch as are made to expreſs the thing ſignified by them; as the geſture repreſenting the action of a Phyſician feeling a pulſe, which is us'd to ſignify a ſick Perſon, *&c. Et ii quidem de quibus jam locutus, cum ipſis vocibus naturaliter exeunt geſtus. Alii ſunt, qui res imitatione ſignificant, ut ſi ægrotum, tentantis venas Medici ſimilitudine oſtendas, quod geſtûs genus quàm longiſſime in oratione fugiendum.* (*L.* 10. *C.* 3.)

THIS part of Muſic *Caſſiodorus* thus deſcribes. *Hanc partem Muſicæ diſciplinæ mutam majores nominaverunt, ſcilicet quæ ore clauſo manibus loquitur, & quibuſdam geſticulationibus facit intelligi, quod vix narrante lingua aut ſcripturæ textu poſſit agnoſci.* Thus we ſee their dancing ſignified the whole Art of geſture, either alone, as that of the *Pantomimi*, or accompanied with the declamation, as that of the players. My reaſon for taking ſuch particular notice of this is, becauſe we ſhall, upon a further examination, find, that the Plays of the Antients were acted almoſt in a kind of recitative, ſet to muſic; ſo that their Poets were obliged in the compoſition of their pieces, to ſet the proper accent over every ſyllable, which directed the actor how to utter his voice with the proper intonation; in the executing of

which, he was alſo further regulated by the Flutes that accompanied him. Something like this method is to this day obſerved by the *Jews* in the muſical accents that are ſet over the words in the Bible, by which, the People, who from their infancy are taught the uſe of them, chaunt the ſervice in the proper manner in their ſynagogues.

THE Antients divided their muſic into hypocritical and metrical. The hypocritical taught to follow the meaſure and time in acting; the metrical, to obſerve both in ſinging and declaiming. *Numeros muſicæ duplices habet* (ſays *Quintilian*) *in vocibus & in corpore.* Lib. 1. C. 10. It ſhould ſeem from another paſſage in the Rhetorician, that there was a particular perſon who beat time with his foot on the ſtage, and that the muſic regulated both the actor and him that declaimed. *Atqui corporis motui ſua quædam tempora, & ad ſigna pedum non minus ſaltationi quam modulationibus adhibet ratio muſica numeros.* Lib. 11. C. ult. And to this purpoſe we find *Seneca* admiring that the actors could be ſo exact to adapt their motions ſo well to the time of the words and muſic. But this would not be half ſo extraordinary, if the ſame man was to execute both. *Mirari ſolemus Scenæ peritos, quod in omnem ſignificationem rerum & affectuum parata illorum eſt manus, & verborum velocitatem geſtus aſſequitur.* Epiſt. 121. But *Livy* in his account of the firſt inſtitution of Scenic Games, has expreſly mentioned this diviſion of the Action and Declamation. Let us again conſider that part of it, which mentions ſo extraordinary a particular. Speaking of *Livius Andronicus*, he ſays, *Idem ſcilicet quod omnes tunc erant, ſuorum carminum actor, dicitur, cum ſæpius revocatus vocem obtudiſſet, venia petita puerum ad canendum ante Tibicinem cum ſtatuiſſet, canticum egiſſe aliquanto magis vigente motu, quia nihil vocis uſus impediebat. Inde ad manum cantari Hiſtrionibus cæptum, diverbiaque tantum ipſorum voci relicta.* The only difficulty of this paſſage conſiſts in the meaning of the words *Canticum & Diverbia.*

We

We find this removed by *Diomedes* the Grammarian, who explains them as follows. *Membra Comœdiarum tria ſunt, Diverbium, Canticum, & Chorus. Diverbia ſunt partes Comœdiarum, in quibus diverſorum perſonæ verſantur; in Canticis autem una tantum debet eſſe perſona, aut ſi duæ fuerint, ita debent eſſe, ut ex occulto una audiat & eloquatur, ſed ſecum ſi opus fuerit verba faciat.* Lib. 3. Cap. 4. Here it is plain, the Dialogue is called *Diverbia*, and the Monologue or Soliloquy *Canticum*; and that *Canticum* does not ſignify a Song, or the muſic between the intervals of the acts, as ſome commentators have abſurdly imagined. *Livy*'s words, *cantare ad manum*, directly intimate, that one comedian ſung to the other's hand, that is to his action. The actor, as we there find, was the principal comedian. The finger was a perſon inſtructed for the purpoſe, and as the Hiſtorian obſerves, placed in the back part of the ſtage juſt before the Muſician. *Macrobius* has a paſſage very much to our preſent purpoſe, by which we learn, that *Roſcius*, that celebrated comedian, chiefly excelled in this dumb action: for *Cicero* uſed to contend with this player, with whom he was very intimate, who could beſt expreſs any ſentiment or paſſion, the orator by his eloquence, or the comedian in his Action, *Et certè ſatis conſtat contendere eum cum Hiſtrione ſolitum, utrum ille ſæpius eandem ſententiam variis geſtibus efficeret* (I would read, *effingeret*) *an ipſe per eloquentiæ copiam ſermone diverſo pronunciaret.* SATURN. Lib. 2. Cap 10.

BUT as this circumſtance muſt appear ſtrange to us, notwithſtanding *Livy*'s authority, let us ſee if *V. Maximus*, who gives an account of the ſame thing, cannot convince us beyond all poſſibility of doubt. Speaking of *Livius Andronicus*, he ſays. *Is ſui operis actor, cum ſæpius a populo revocatus, vocem obtudiſſet, adhibito pueri & tibicinis concentu geſticulationem tacitus peragit.* (Lib. 2. Cap. 4.) That is, being the Actor of his own Play, and his voice growing hoarſe by the people's often recalling him to

act ſome parts over again, he made uſe of a boy or ſervant, who ſung or declaimed in concert with the flute, whilſt he himſelf ſilently acted his part, that is, executed all the geſticulations. And *Donatus*, as quoted in the laſt ſection, ſays, the comedians themſelves pronounced the dialogues, but the cantiques were ſet to muſic, modulated, not by the poet, but by ſome able muſician. Perhaps it may be meant here that the poet, who accented his play for the direction of the actor in his declamation, left the cantiques or monologues unnoted, which were ſet to muſic by ſome able maſter in the art. But the part of the ſinger or declaimer became afterwards ſo conſiderable, that ſomewhat before *Iſidore*'s time, about the 4th century, the Poets themſelves affected to pronounce or ſing the monologues, whilſt the player acted. *Ibi Poetæ, Comœdi & Tragœdi ad certamen deſcendebant, iiſque canentibus, alii geſtus edebant.* ORIGEN. Lib. 1. Cap. 44. We may add another Paſſage from *Suetonius*, concerning *Caligula*, who was ſo paſſionately fond of acting and declaiming that he could not forbear at the public ſpectacles, pronouncing the part aloud with the declaimer, and acting along with the player, who executed the geſticulation. *Canendi ac ſaltandi voluptate ita efferebatur, ut ne publicis quidem ſpectaculis temperaret, quo minus & Tragœdo pronuntianti concineret, & geſtum hiſtrionis effingeret.* It is obſervable, that *Suetonius* here diſtinguiſhes the declaimer from the actor, and declaiming from acting. *Ovid* has alſo uſed the word *ſaltare* for acting, in anſwer to his friend's letter, who had ſent him word that his Tragedy named *Medea*, a Play much admired by the Antients, met with great approbation during the repreſentation: he ſays,

Carmina cum pleno ſaltari noſtra Theatro
Verſibus & plaudi ſcribis, amice, meis.
De Ponto. Lib. 5. El. 7.

And *A. Gellius*, to intimate that long before his time the

the actor who declaimed, uſed alſo to act, has the ſame phraſe. Thoſe who now ſing ſtanding ſtill, then danced as they ſung. *Saltabundi autem canebant, quæ nunc ſtantes canunt.* Lib. 20. Cap. 2.

THE fact being now ſufficiently made out, I muſt deſire the reader to conſider the three following circumſtances relating to the Theatre of the Antients, which will leſſen the ſeeming extravagance of their taſte in ſuch a ſeparation.

THEIR theatre was infinitely larger than ours, and had not ſo good a light; it being impoſſible that the day-light only ſhould give ſo much light, at leaſt ſo advantagiouſly to their ſtage, as our illuminations do to our ſtage: So that it ſeems reaſonable to ſuppoſe the Antients could not ſee their Actors ſo nearly nor ſo diſtinctly as we ſee ours.

THE ſecond thing is, that their actors were masked, and conſequently one could not well perceive whether they ſpoke or not. Thus the ſpectator was not ſo ſenſible of the ſeeming abſurdity of two perſons appearing on the ſtage: Beſides the Declaimer, *Cantor*, ſtood (as we have ſeen from *Livy*) juſt before the muſician, towards the lower end of the theatre.

Thirdly, AS the masks of their Actors aſſiſted and ſtrengthened the voice, they muſt at the ſame time ſo change the voice, as to make it not ſo eaſy to know, for inſtance, whether *Micio* in the *Adelphi*, or Brothers of *Terence*, had the ſame voice in the dialogue and monologue: And it is not improbable they might take care to chuſe a Singer, *Cantor*, whoſe voice would nearly reſemble that of the actor.

THE conduct and writings of the *Romans* evidently prove them to have been as polite a people as they were brave, eſpecially ſince the deſtruction of *Carthage*, and the conqueſt of *Greece*. When they firſt determined in favour of this diviſion of the action and declamation in the cantiques, they had already the experience of an hundred and twenty years in the more ſimple way, which they choſe to quit for

this more compoſite manner: From *Andronicus*'s firſt introducing it to the reign of *Honorius*, when it was ſtill practiſed, they had had the experience of near ſeven hundred years, and yet found no reaſon to alter it. We ſhould therefore miſtruſt our own judgments a little, and not haſtily condemn a practice that ſeems ſtrange to us. Their great progreſs in all arts, poetry, painting, ſculpture, oratory, architecture, *&c.* ſhould prevail with us to think favourably of their judgment in this particular. Perſons of the higheſt rank appeared on the *Greek* ſtage; and though the *Romans* were more reſerved in this reſpect, we know that from their firſt condition of ſlaves, good actors have been able to raiſe themſelves immenſe riches, and purchaſe their freedom during the commonwealth, and they grew much more conſiderable under the Emperors, when it became the general complaint, that players, freedmen, and ſuch upſtarts ran away with all honours and places of profit, and engroſſed the prince's favour. One muſt never have read *Tacitus* and *Juvenal*, not to mention many other authors, to doubt the truth of what is here advanced. Let this teach us to ſuſpend our cenſures, and to be not ſo ready to condemn every thing that is out of our own way of thinking and practice.

Let us now examine the notion of the antient Plays being noted, and partly ſet to muſic. The word *Carmen* properly ſignifies a Song or Poem ſet to muſic. So *Ovid*, above quoted, uſed it to mean his *Medea* a tragedy. And *Cicero*, ſpeaking of a tragedy, ſays, *Præclarum Carmen, eſt enim rebus, verbis & modis lugubre.* (*Tuſcul. Quæſt. L.* 5.) *Rebus*, means the ſubject or compoſition of the fable; *verbis*, the expreſſions; *modis*, the muſic fitted to the words, or the words ſet to muſic. More could not be ſaid of one of *Handel*'s Opera's, if the poetical part of thoſe compoſitions were equal to his excellent muſic.

WE have already ſeen *Livy*'s account, which is full to this purpoſe, and the Reader may turn to it again if he pleaſe.

Let me obſerve in this place, that, if the critics, who condemn the Antients for the many ſoliloquies in their Plays, had known the reaſon for this practice of theirs, they would have with-held their cenſures. The continual preſence of the Chorus, we have before alledged as a ſufficient juſtification of ſoliloquies in tragedy, which thereby are rendered, indeed, not ſo. Another inducement to the frequent uſe of them, we find, muſt have been, to adorn the whole performance by the excellency of the Muſic which accompanied the more labour'd declamation of the ſoliloquies. *Cantica*, ſays *Diomedes*, *temperabantur modis, non a poeta, ſed a perito artis muſicæ factis.* The Poets did not ſet the *Cantics* themſelves to muſic, but employ'd ſome skilful artiſts to compoſe the muſic. It hence ſeems plain, the poets noted the dialogue part themſelves, as coming within their ſphere, the muſic being here more ſimple, and low, and ſerving only, as it were, to aſſiſt the actor's voice, in the juſt expreſſion of the tones and accents, which in *Latin*, are ſaid to have been ten, according to *Priſcian*, of which he gave the marks, but that work of his is loſt. *Sergius*, the Grammarian, reckons eight only. *Tenores*, ſays he, *ſive accentus dicti ſunt, qui naturalem uniuſcujuſque ſermonis in vocem noſtræ elationis tenorem ſervant. Dictus autem accentus eſt, quaſi ad cantus; ſunt omnes Latini accentus octo.* *Quintilian* proves, that they who compos'd the muſic for the plays, did not barely compoſe the muſic to diſtinguiſh acts, as has been falſly imagin'd, but to accompany the declamation. * In thoſe plays that are compos'd for the ſtage, (that is, whoſe muſic is compoſed) the maſters of the art of declaiming have a ſtrict regard to every character. The *Latin* ſays, borrow the affections (that is, of their compoſition) from the masks.

* *In iis, quæ ad ſcenam componuntur fabulis, artifices pronunciandi perſonis quoque affectus mutuantur. Inſt.* Orat. L. 11. C. 3.

I cannot but think it probable too, that the Poets, in the order in which they placed their words, had ſome regard to the muſic that accompanied the declamation, and this more in the cantiques than the dialogues, more in tragedy than comedy. *Horace* blames this luxurious improvement of the numbers.

Acceſſit numeriſque modiſque licentia major.

The Poet would never put *numeri* and *modi* together, if they had not an immediate influence on each other. But I ſhould never have done, if I would go on with obſervations of this kind, that prove the Plays being acted to muſic among the Antients. But to return. *Lyrick* poetry alſo, which was allowed the greateſt variety of numbers, and the bold tranſpoſitions to be met with in the odes, both *Greek* and *Latin*, may reaſonably be thought, in a great meaſure, owing to the poet's skill in muſic. And * *Cicero* ſays to this purpoſe, of *Roſcius*, that this great maſter of action intended, as he grew in years, to make the muſicians ſoften their notes and ſlacken the compoſition of the Cantiques for the eaſe of his action: For the declamatory part, we find, was executed by another. And we have already ſeen, that *Roſcius*'s talent lay in dumb ſhew, and that he would often contend with *Cicero*, who could beſt expreſs a circumſtance, he, by the force of action, or *Cicero* by that of eloquence. † He elſewhere obſerves, that ſuch as had a little skill in muſic knew by the beginning of the ouverture what play was a going to be acted. This we can do at our Operas too, becauſe the muſic is part of the Drama. But at the play-houſe, no body knows by the firſt, ſecond, or third muſic, what play is to be acted, but by the bills; becauſe it is arbitrary, and has no relation to the play that is to

* *Solet idem Roſcius dicere, ſe, quo plus ſibi ætatis accederet, e tibicinis modos, & cantus remiſſiores eſſe facturum,* De Oratore L. 1.

† *Quam multa, quæ nos fugiunt in cantu, exaudiunt in eo genere exercitati: Qui primo inflatu Tibicinis, Antiopam eſſe aiunt aut Andromacham, cum nos ne ſuſpicemur quidem.* Academ. Quæſt. L. 4.

follow,

follow. * In another place he remarks, That ſome verſes, even in tragedy, had ſuch bad numbers, that, but for their being ſet to muſic, (accompanied by the flute, in *Latin*) there would be no diſtinguiſhing them from Proſe. Theſe paſſages prove, that comedy and tragedy had their proper meaſures, tho' they were ſometimes too much neglected.

THIS may ſerve to juſtify *Horace* in cenſuring the negligence of *Plautus* in the metre of his verſes, but in what particulars this negligence moſt appear'd, and why, according to *Quintilian* trimeters were beſt, is hard to diſcover, unleſs we had a more particular knowledge of the manner of the Antients in noting and declaiming their comedies. But it is at the ſame time evident, that *Varro*, *Priſcian*, *Donatus*, *Aſper*, *Juba*, *Scaurus*, *Probus* and *Sulpitius*, all great grammarians, would never have applied themſelves to find out the metre of *Terence* and *Plautus*'s verſes, had they underſtood no more of it than our modern critics can. As theſe antient grammarians were all acquainted with muſic, which *Quintilian* lays down as a knowledge eſſentially neceſſary to the grammarian, they were able to find and reſtore the miſplacing of a word in a verſe much more readily by the help of the muſical intonation and accents. And yet if the matter was ſo obſcure in *Priſcian*'s time, that he ſays, there were ſeveral, who denied that *Terence* had any metre, and others pretended they alone had the ſecret key of them, and that none but themſelves could pretend to meaſure his verſes, it is a little hard to conceive how our critics, let them be perſons never ſo diſtinguiſhed by their learning and great abilities, can come nearer the truth than thoſe antient grammarians.

SOME indeed have had a conceit, that they ſhould ſooneſt attain to the truth, by taking it for granted that the comic Poets uſed thoſe meaſures that were moſt agreeable to the ſubject, as we find *Virgil* has

* *Quæ, niſi cum Tibicen acceſſerit, ſunt orationi ſolutæ ſimillima.* De Orat.

very

very ſucceſsfully done in many places. But it has been obſerv'd by ſucceeding critics, that when they came to examine the Comedies of *Plautus* and *Terence* by this rule, it only ſerved to confound, and lead them into new intricacies.

LET it ſuffice us from ſuch imperfect notices as antiquity has left, to have proved the fact, both as to this and other particulars which we have had occaſion to take notice of under this head of the theatrical muſic of the Antients.

SUCH as are well acquainted with the ſtate of antient *Greece* and *Rome*, do not wonder at their elaborate ſtudy of every artifice capable of adding life and ornament to their declamation: The genius of the people eaſily moved by every paſſion, ſupported by a great vivacity and quickneſs of conception, as they continue to this day, though oppreſſed by ignorance, ſlavery, and ſuperſtition: This diſpoſition, I ſay, made eloquence lead the way to the higheſt honours; and even under the Emperors, the Sovereign ſtudied to recommend or palliate his conduct, by a graceful and eloquent manner of ſpeaking in publick: and it was no ſmall reproach even to *Nero*, that he was forced to employ others to compoſe his harangues for him. Eloquence in pleading at the bar was ſo faſhionable even in *Horace*'s time, that he mentions it as a becoming ornament in the character of a pretty fellow.

Namque & nobilis & decens,
Et pro ſolicitis non tacitus reis,
Et centum Puer artium
Late ſigna feret militiæ tuæ. Lib. 4. Od. 1.

SECT. V.

Of Dramatic Fiction and Imitation.

THE foundation of Dramatic Poetry is not barely imitation, which it has in common with all other kinds, but probable fiction, or a well-invented fable.

fable. I need not ſay much in juſtification of fiction: the beſt writers have often employed it to make the ſtrongeſt impreſſions, and to convey the moſt important truths. The *Greeks* always began the education of their children by it; their firſt theology and philoſophy was concealed under it. *Strabo* in his firſt book has a fine Paſſage that makes to this purpoſe. "In the firſt place (ſays that judicious writer) Poets are not alone in the uſe of fables: "Critics and Lawgivers have done ſo long before "them, both for their uſefulneſs and in conformity "to the natural inclination of a rational creature. "Man is willing to learn, and fable opens him the "way. By this our children begin to hearken to "what we ſay; the reaſon of which is, that fable is "a kind of a new ſtory, not of what really is, but "of ſomething very different. Now nothing de-"lights the underſtanding more, than what is new "and ſtrange, and it is this makes us love the "ſciences. Therefore if you add the wonderful "and marvellous to fable, that infinitely increaſes "our delight, which is the firſt inducement to learn. "It is therefore highly proper to make uſe of fable, "to draw the tender minds of children to the love "of knowledge; and when they are more advanced "in years, and their underſtanding has gathered "ſtrength, ſo that there is no longer occaſion to "careſs and indulge them, they let them be intro-"duced into the real ſciences, and taught to know "things by what they are." Thus far *Strabo*.

It is certainly true, that the ſtrong propenſity to imitation, which nature has implanted in us, is the ſource of all ſtudy and application. This diſpoſition gives fiction, which is only a happy imitation of what might probably happen, a great advantage over truth itſelf, which being artleſs, and of ordinary occurrence, has leſs power to excite and keep up our attention. Beſides, in a juſt imitation one diſcovers that ſubtlety and addreſs in the contrivance, which by ſetting the mind upon making proper reflections,

puts

puts it in the way to diſcover ſomething new: And according to *Ariſtotle* (Rhet. Lib. 1. Cap. 11.) the pleaſure we take in ſeeing a juſt imitation, does not ariſe from the beauty of the original imitated, but from the mind's thereby finding the means to reaſon and inſtruct itſelf agreeably. Hence ſome philoſophers very juſtly argued againſt the Epicureans, when they maintained, that the pleaſure people take at ſhews can ariſe neither from the ſenſe of hearing nor ſeeing; but from the mind only, which underſtands and judges. An inſtance from painting will illuſtrate *Ariſtotle*'s poſition. Moſt groteſque figures, that pleaſe by their ridiculous deformity in a Picture, would give diſguſt in the originals. So monſters, and other hideous ſhapes, that we can conſider without emotion, upon the canvas, and in colours, would, if they were really preſent, fill us with horror and averſion. But to return to fiction.

As it is the ſoul of all Poetry, but particularly the dramatic and epic, ſo it is that which makes the moſt eſſential difference between the hiſtorian and the poet. *Ariſtotle* (*Poet. Cap.* 9.) ſeems to have eſtabliſhed this truth. Should any one, ſays the Philoſopher, put *Herodotus*'s Hiſtory into verſe, it would be but a hiſtory ſtill. Here then is the difference. The hiſtorian deſcribes what has happened, and the poet, what might, or ought to come to paſs. So that poetry is more grave and moral than hiſtory, becauſe the former ſays general things, and the latter only particulars. A general thing is what every man, of ſuch a certain character, ſhould probably ſay or do, *&c.* This is the very method which poetry follows, when it gives proper names to its characters. A particular thing is what *Alcibiades*, for inſtance, has actually ſaid, or done, *&c.* This moſt evidently appears in comedy; (meaning the middle *Greek* comedy) for the comic poets having formed the plan of their ſubject agreeable to probability, impoſe what names they pleaſe afterwards upon their characters, not imitating the ſatiriſts, who apply them to particulars.

culars. It is true, the tragic poets often uſe real names, but the reaſon is, becauſe what has happened muſt be credible; however it is common for them to think one or two known names ſufficient, and invent the reſt. Nay, there are tragedies extant, where no part of the ſubject is known; as the *Flower of* Agathon, in which play, all the names, as well as things, were of the poet's invention, and yet it met with general approbation. Beſides, ſuch ſubjects as are known, are known but to few perſons, and yet when brought on the ſtage, they divert all: So that it is manifeſt, that a dramatic poet is more obliged to be the author of his ſubject, than his verſes, ſince he is a poet only by imitation. So far *Ariſtotle* on this head. I think, the philoſopher's words want no explanation, unleſs where he has ſaid, that dramatic poetry is more grave and philoſophical than hiſtory: And yet his proof is ſufficient. For, as particular facts are the ſubject of hiſtory, it can never be ſo well proportioned to the generality of Readers, as poetry, which treats of general matters. A man may read a whole hiſtory through, without meeting with one occurrence to his particular purpoſe, during the whole courſe of his life; and thoſe whom it may ſeem to ſuit in ſome reſpects, may live many years before they have occaſion to put them in practice. Beſides, facts never can inſtruct us ſo well as the knowledge of the cauſes of thoſe facts, which the hiſtorian ſeldom does, and hardly ever can explain, as being, for the moſt part, concealed from his knowledge: So that the beſt he can do, is to give you his own conjectures. But the poet being the maſter of his ſubject, advances nothing, of which he does not let you into the motive, explaining the cauſes and effects of every the moſt minute incident. Hiſtory has only narration to recommend it to our obſervation. Dramatic poetry has all the advantages of action and repreſentation to enforce it. Every thing is animated in tragedy. All our ſenſes and paſſions are employed. But further; hiſtory does not borrow

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the aſſiſtance of philoſophy, harmony and numbers, which poetry does to enliven and adorn it. If theſe reflexions will not convince us, that *Ariſtotle* thoroughly underſtood the nature of theſe two arts, when he ſaid, That poetry was more moral than hiſtory, we may turn to *Horace*, who has ſaid more of epic poetry, giving it the preference to philoſophy for inſtruction. And yet epic poetry, as it has not the help of the ſtage, and does not raiſe the paſſions, is ſo far inferior, at leaſt of leſs power and efficacy than tragedy. But hear *Horace*.

Trojani belli ſcriptorem, maxime Lolli,
Dum tu declamas Romæ, *Prænesſte relegi;*
Qui quid ſit pulcrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,
Rectius & melius Chryſippo & Crantore *dicit.*
Lib. 1. Epiſt. 2.

While you to plead at *Rome*, my friend, remain,
I here have read my *Homer* o'er again;
Who hath what's baſe, what decent, juſt and good,
Clearer than *Crantor* or *Chryſippus* ſhew'd.
Creech.

When *Homer* paints the anger of *Achilles*, it is with an intent to ſhew what violence and anger may make men of his character do and ſay. *Achilles* is a general and allegorical perſon in the iliad. The ſame holds good of the heroes in tragedy. Even the old comedy was not altogether deficient in this reſpect. For inſtance, when *Ariſtophanes* names ſome of the perſons in his plays, *Socrates*, *Euripides*, *Cleon*, *Hyperbolus*, *Lamachus*, though they were real names, the ſubject was fictitious in the main, and to be conſidered as ſomething general. In like manner, when a tragic poet takes his ſubject from true hiſtory, it becomes general and allegorical, as well as that which is wholly fictitious, and of his own invention. A great reaſon that induces poets to give known and real names to their characters, is the better to perſuade the audience of the probability of the action. Beſides, they hence very often take occaſion to adapt ſome

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of the real adventures of thoſe perſons to their fiction, and extract ſuch ingenious epiſodes from them, as very much heighten the probability of the whole, and make it ſometimes paſs with the audience for a true hiſtory.

SECT. VI.

Of TRAGEDY, *according to* ARISTOTLE.

HIS *Art of Poetry* is ſo celebrated a piece of criticiſm, that I thought, to ſpeak of tragedy and comedy without taking notice of his account of them, would be looked upon as preſumption, though I doubt his conciſe and metaphyſical manner of treating the ſubject may not be agreeable to the generality of readers; they may paſs this Section over.

THE Philoſopher (*Cap.* 6. *Poet.*) defines Tragedy to be, The imitation of an important and compleat action, of a juſt extent, with a ſuitable ſtile, properly varied in the ſeveral parts, which, without the help of narration (whereby it is chiefly diſtinguiſhed from an Epic Poem) by the means of terror and compaſſion, purges thoſe and all other the like paſſions in us.

BY a ſuitable ſtile he underſtands verſe, number, and harmony, and properly varied, refers to verſe being the principal in one part, and number and harmony in the other.

THIS imitation (ſays the Philoſopher) being made by ſuch as carry on an action, it neceſſarily follows, that the decorations of the ſcene are in ſome ſort a part of Tragedy, as well as the melody and diſcourſe with which the imitation is made. Diſcourſe is the compoſition of the verſes, and melody the muſic.

TRAGEDY therefore has theſe ſix parts; The Fable, the Manners, the Sentiments, the Language, the Muſic, and Decoration.

TRAGEDY is the imitation of ſome action, and they who do any action, are neceſſarily what they are by their manners and ſentiments, which are the cauſes of men's happineſs or miſery. THE

THE imitation of an action is properly the Fable; by Fable is meant the compoſition of matters.

THE Manners are that which points out the qualities of thoſe who do an action, and the ſentiments are the diſcourſe, by which thoſe perſons make any action known or whereby they diſcover their thoughts. After having proved that the good conſtitution of the Fable is principally to be conſidered in Tragedy, our great critic proceeds thus.

THE Manners come next, with which it is, as in painting: for ſhould a painter lay confuſedly the fineſt colours upon the canvas, it would not pleaſe ſo much as the out-lines or sketch of a picture. So as Tragedy is the imitation of ſome action, it muſt principally be the imitation of thoſe who do the action.

Ariſtotle's meaning is, That if the characters are not well marked, ſo that all that the perſons of the Drama ſay or do be conſiſtent with the characters given them, the reſt is only confuſion, as not relating to or being contrary to the ſubject: For the manners (continues the Philoſopher) are that which diſcovers the inclinations of him that ſpeaks, and what meaſures he intends to take on any occaſion, where it would elſe be difficult to know them. So that all ſuch diſcourſe as does not immediately tend to unfold the deſigns of him who ſpeaks, are without the manners.

THE ſentiments explain what is, or what is not; that is, diſcover to us the thoughts of him who ſpeaks.

THE fourth thing, which only regards the diſcourſe, is the Diction, which is the explanation of things by words, and has the ſame power in proſe and verſe.

THE fifth is the Muſic, which is the greateſt and moſt agreeable ornament Tragedy can employ.

THE Decoration is the laſt, but does not properly regard the Poet, nor make a part of Dramatic Poetry, but concerns other artiſts.

I ſhall not trouble the reader with a larger extract from *Ariſtotle*'s Poetics; this may ſuffice to give an idea of his method.

SECT.

SECT. VII.

Of the Meaſures of DRAMATIC POETRY.

AS the mind of man is formed for imitation, it is alſo pleaſed with numbers and harmony. This taſte for harmony taught the *Greeks* to diſtinguiſh different meaſures for different kinds of Poetry. The Hexameter was found fit for Epic or Heroic Poetry; the Sapphic, Alcaic, Phaleucian, *&c.* for Lyric Poetry; and the Iambic for Tragedy. And though *Strabo* ſays, verſe was more ancient than proſe, among the *Greek* Writers, yet the appropriating certain meaſures to certain kinds of Poetry, was of a much later date. *Homer* ſeems to have been the firſt, who fixed the hexameter verſe for epic Poetry. *Ariſtotle* has obſerved, that his *Margites*, a comic Satire, which *Homer* compoſed before the *Iliad*, was an irregular mixture of ſeveral meaſures, poſſibly not unlike the old Saturnian verſes in uſe among the old *Roman* Poets before *Ennius*.

Theſpis among the other improvements he made in the infancy of the *Athenian* ſtage, choſe the Iambic meaſure as fitteſt for dialogue. The Tetrameter had been uſed in the old ſatirical pieces before. Comedy uſed the Iambic tremeter as well as tragedy, but not ſo ſtrictly, as running nearer to proſe: Nay trimeter itſelf was choſen for the ſame reaſon, as of all regular and meaſured verſe coming neareſt to the language of converſation. *Archilochus* a ſatiric Poet was the firſt inventer of the Iambic meaſure. *Horace* ſpeaks of it as follows.

Archilochum proprio rabies armavit Iambo.
Hunc Socci cepere pedem grandeſque Cothurni;
Alternis aptum ſermonibus, & populares
Vincentem ſtrepitus & natum rebus agendis.
De Arte Poet. ver. 79.

Archilochus firſt us'd Iambics keen,
As a fit meaſure to convey his ſpleen.

Both

Both Sock and Buskin ſince adopt this foot,
As ſounding clearly through the people's ſhout,
And form'd dramatic Action well to execute.

Ariſtotle having obſerved how fit this meaſure is for the ſtage, by its coming ſo near to proſe, adds, That the Hexameter verſe was very ſeldom to be found in *Greek* proſe, as the Iambic was; ſo that dramatic writers had good reaſon to prefer the Iambic to all other meaſures, as fitteſt for the ſtage.

SECT. VIII.
Of COMEDY.

ARISTOTLE (*Cap.* 5.) has ſaid but little of Comedy; I ſhall therefore join ſome of my own obſervations with his concerning this branch of dramatic Poetry.

THE Philoſopher's definition of Comedy is very ſhort and obſcure: he calls it, An imitation of bad men; but he explains himſelf, ſaying, That by bad men he means not perſons guilty of all or the greateſt vices, but ſuch vices as are capable of ridicule. "Ridicule (ſays he) is properly a defect or deformity without pain, which does not tend to the deſtruction of the ſubject in which it exiſts: for inſtance, we call that a ridiculous countenance which is diſagreeable and miſſhapen, without being painful to the perſon that is made ridiculous by it." Thus far *Ariſtotle*.

THE changes the *Greek* Comedy underwent in its infancy, have not been diſcovered to us ſo well as thoſe of Tragedy: for it was late before the magiſtrate began to defray the charge of exhibiting Comedies. Thoſe who acted them before were free and voluntary actors, who had no dependance upon, nor encouragement from the ſtate.

THE contrary ſeems to have happened among the *Romans*, who I believe had their Atellane plays and

Exodia

Exodia or Farces acted almoſt to perfection, before Tragedy was much cultivated among them.

The firſt improvers of the *Greek* Comedy had nothing to do, but to borrow from Tragedy ſuch theatrical ornaments as were proper to their ſubject and deſign; and this may be a reaſon why what was done by them in this part, has been ſo little taken notice of, whilſt we have ſeveral particulars of ſuch improvements of Tragedy.

Epicharmus and *Phormis* are ſaid to be the firſt that laid aſide the old ſatyric dialogue, to form a ſubject, and lay the plan of the old Comedy, which, though not properly of the Poet's invention, as expoſing real characters and perſons, was, however, faſhioned and caſt into what form the Poet judged fitteſt to caſt a ridicule on his characters. Thus the *Athenians* were beholden to the *Sicilians* for the firſt plan of Comedy. *Crates*, an *Athenian*, took the hint, and compoſed ſeveral pieces with ſucceſs. He flouriſhed about the 82 *Olympiad*, near 45 years before *Ariſtophanes* publiſhed his firſt Comedy; and ſome of his laſt pieces come very near the regularity of the new Comedy. Thus we find Comedy attained not its perfection in ſo few years as Tragedy. *Ariſtophanes* began to flouriſh the 4th year of the 94 *Olympiad:* And *Menander* flouriſhed the beginning of the 123 *Olympiad*, which is an interval of 72 years. *Epicharmus* was not many years after *Theſpis*, though at firſt he apply'd himſelf to philoſophy, and was an old man before he wrote any Comedies. He was born at *Coos*, but was brought into *Sicily* at three months old, which is the reaſon ſo many authors have thought him a *Sicilian*. *Hiero*, tyrant of *Sicily*, having forced him to quit the publick teaching of the *Pythagorean* philoſophy, he firſt rehearſed on the ſtage ſome of the doctrines of his philoſophy, which he couched in verſe, and afterwards ſet himſelf to write Comedies, which he did to the number of 52, according to *Suidas*. *Meurſius* has collected the titles of 40 of them; and there are ſome ſentences out

of them extant among the fragments of the old comic writers. *Phormis* was cotemporary with *Epicharmus*, and had the inſtructing of *Gelo* the tyrant's ſons. He was a native of *Syracuſe*. Theſe old comedies of *Phormis* were written in ſo grave a ſtile, that ſome critics, by their fragments, have miſtaken him for a tragic writer, contrary to the teſtimony of *Ariſtotle*, and all antiquity. *C.* 5. *Poet.*

Eupolis flouriſhed about the 92d *Olympiad*, being an imitator of *Cratinus*, who was cotemporary with *Crates*. It is reported by ſome writers, that *Alcibiades*, during his great power at *Athens*, ordered the Poet to be caſt into the ſea, for having expos'd him in one of his comedies. And *Ælian* ſays, That *Ephialtes*, a ſlave of *Eupolis*, running away from his maſter with ſome plays which he had ſtolen, was ſeized and killed by *Eupolis*'s dog. *Suidas* ſays, that *Euetes* and *Euxenides* publiſhed ſome comedies at *Athens*, at the ſame time that *Epicharmus* publiſhed his at *Syracuſe*. But if this were a fact well proved, *Ariſtotle*, where he enquires into the antiquity of comedy, would not have allowed the *Syracuſans* the honour of its invention.

Menander and *Philemon* were cotemporaries. *Philemon* is ſaid to have lived to upwards of an hundred years, and died of an immoderate fit of laughter. Both *Quintilian* and *Gellius* are ſurprized the *Athenians* ſhould ſo often prefer *Philemon*'s Plays to *Menander*'s, who meeting *Philemon*, after the judges had decreed him the prize, ſaid; *Tell me truly, Philemon, did not you bluſh yourſelf to bear the Prize from me?* *Menander* was the ſcholar of *Theophraſtus*, and born the third year of the 109 *Olympiad*, and died the 4th year of the 131. *Menander* made no ſcruple to imitate the beſt comic writers that had preceded him. He wrote 108 comedies: or, according to *Apollodorus*, 105; yet gained the prize but eight times.

O ſæclum inſipiens & inficetum.

SECT.

SECT. IX.

Of the Efficacy of DRAMATIC POETRY, *in purging the Paſſions:* PLATO's *Objections againſt it anſwer'd, and the Uſefulneſs of a well regulated Stage aſſerted.*

THE great End of Tragedy, according to *Ariſtotle*, is to purge the Paſſions, as he calls it. This contradicts *Plato*'s opinion, who condemns Tragedy for exciting the Paſſions. Let us ſee how theſe two great men may be reconciled, and Tragedy juſtified. Had we *Ariſtotle*'s ſecond Book of Poetry, wherein he has fully cleared this matter, as he declares in his politics, we ſhould not be under any difficulties. The immediate words of the definition are; "Which, "by the means of terror and compaſſion, purges "theſe paſſions, and all others of the like nature "in us."

Firſt, Let us explain the term, *To purge the Paſſions*. The academic, and after them the ſtoick Philoſophers have uſed this expreſſion, to ſignify a driving out and extirpating of the Paſſions. But Tragedy cannot be ſaid to purge them in a ſenſe which exceeds its power. The peripatetics, or followers of *Ariſtotle*, being perſuaded, that it is the exceſs of the Paſſions which renders them vicious, and that when regulated they become uſeful and neceſſary, mean, by purging the Paſſions, to remove that exceſs by which they are bad, and to reduce them to a juſt moderation. This is the end which Tragedy propoſes, and the only one in which it can ſucceed. It is eaſy to ſhew how it excites terror and compaſſion in our breaſts, in order to purge theſe Paſſions. It is done, by ſetting before us the misfortunes which men have been plunged into by involuntary faults, and by making them familiar to us, teaches us not to apprehend ſuch misfortunes too much when they befall us,

and how they may, in ſome meaſure, be avoided. The Emperor *Antoninus* has a fine reflection to this purpoſe, in the 6th Article of the 11th Book. "Tragedies, (ſays that excellent moraliſt) were firſt "introduced to put men in mind of the many ac- "cidents that happen in life, and to give them notice, "that ſuch accidents muſt of neceſſity happen; and "to teach them, that thoſe calamities which enter- "tain them on the ſtage, ought not to be thought "inſupportable in the great theatre of the world." But ſecondly, by purging theſe paſſions, it alſo purges ſuch other paſſions in us, as might lead us into the like misfortunes. For inſtance, who could ſee the Tragedy of *Oedipus*, *Sophocles*'s I mean, and not learn to correct in himſelf all raſhneſs and blind curioſity, which are the immediate cauſes of the dreadful calamities that Prince ſuffered, and not any deliberate crimes? This ſeems to be *Ariſtotle*'s meaning in his definition, and this ſhould be the deſign of Tragedy, as a fable or fiction: ſince all fables were intended to form the manners by proper inſtructions, concealed under the allegory of ſome action.

IT is now time to conſider *Plato*'s objections. The power of theatrical repreſentations ſeemed ſo great to him, that he excluded them and their compoſers from his ideal commonwealth. Epic poetry was involved in the ſame cenſure. "Epic and dramatic "writers, ſays he, give us no deſcription of a wiſe "man's character; do not ſet forth that inward "tranquillity of mind, which enables him to main- "tain an even temper, undiſturbed by pleaſure or "pain." So far *Plato* is right. A philoſopher, ſtripped of his Paſſions, would make but a dull figure on the ſtage. He goes on to obſerve, that the poets exhibit to us men given up to ſtrong deſires, and commonly made a prey to the violent agitations of ſome darling Paſſion; or, at beſt, ſtruggling with it. It is confeſſed that Poets are ſo well convinced of the neceſſity and influence of this practice here condemned, that as ſoon as the agitation and anxiety is over,

over, and it is clearly determined whether the perſon's conduct has render'd him happy or miſerable, he diſappears. The cauſe of that affecting pleaſure the audience felt, to hear and ſee a great man ſtruggling with his Paſſions, and to mark all the fatal conſequences attending their too prevailing power over him, no longer ſubſiſting, when his fate is once fully decided.

The beſt way to take off the force of this objection of *Plato*'s, I conceive, may be to ſhew a little more fully the ſeveral degrees by which Dramatic Poetry recommends itſelf to us as uſeful in the regulating our Paſſions.

We can generally make but imperfect gueſſes at the true motive of men's actions, and very rarely penetrate to the bottom of their deſigns. That which breaks out, and appears as a ſpark, is often produced by a fire that burns furiouſly within. So that, on the one hand, we too often deceive ourſelves, when we imagine we have diſcovered men's real intent, and men as often deceive us on the other, when they pretend to inform us of the true ſituation of their minds.

But theatrical perſons pull off their mask to the ſpectators, making them the confidents of their moſt ſecret views and intentions. If they leave any thing for conjecture, it is what the judicious part of the audience cannot poſſibly fail to diſcover. And this is true both of Tragedy and Comedy. But further.

The Poet's deſign engages him to deſcribe the Paſſions, and their effects, juſt as they really are, without exaggeration. His method of inſtruction is the cleareſt and ſureſt, that of example, and what may fully convince us, that the picture is truly drawn, many cannot help diſcovering their own character, every man finds his neighbours in ſome character or other of the ſtage.

A faithful picture of the Paſſions is of itſelf ſufficient to make us fear them, and take a full reſolution to avoid them. I chuſe to inſtance from ſome of

our own Tragedies, as moſt generally known. Who that has ſeen or read the *Orphan*, but dreads the ſad effects of an indiſcreet reſerve, occaſioned by love and jealouſy. *Caſtalio*'s and *Polydor*'s ruin are the fatal conſequences of this error in the former; whilſt *Polydor*'s blind paſſion thinking to enjoy *Monimia* in *Caſtalio*'s place, makes him defile his brother's marriage-bed, and be unawares guilty of adultery and inceſt. When we are preſent at ſuch repreſentations, do we not promiſe ourſelves not to give way to the like Paſſions; and wiſh *Caſtalio* had been more ſincere, *Polydor* more cautious, and *OEdipus* more diſcreet? Do not the characters of *Pyrrhus* and *Oreſtes*, in the *Diſtreſſed Mother*, ſhew all the force of a violent and blind love. The former forgets his intereſt and dignity, and moſt ſolemn engagements, injures a fair Princeſs, to whom he was betrothed, to marry the widow of his moſt deadly enemy; *Oreſtes* forgets the ties of honour, juſtice and hoſpitality, and, hoodwinked by his Paſſion, aſſaſſinates a Prince, to whom he was ſent embaſſador, in the temple, and at the very altar of the Gods. *Hermione* employs a man ſhe deſpiſes, tempting him with hopes of marriage, to murther the man ſhe loves, prompted at once by pride and jealouſy to be revenged on him who could neglect her for another. In ſhort, every well written Play is pregnant with ſuch inſtances, which the reaſonable part of the audience will apply to their own hearts, and there form ſuch reſolutions, as may be of uſe to them in the conduct of their lives.

THERE is another thing we may learn from the ſtage, that all the Paſſions burn faintly at firſt, and would ſoon be extinguiſhed, if by a juſt diffidence of ourſelves, we were determined to fly from ſuch objects as we know to be apt to inflame them.

TRAGEDY propoſes, that all the paſſions it deſcribes in the characters of the ſtage ſhould move and affect, but does not mean that this emotion of the audience ſhould be the ſame with that of the perſon on the ſtage, who is tormented by ſome Paſſion; nor

nor does Tragedy deſign they ſhould eſpouſe his ſentiments. Moſt commonly its aim is to excite ſentiments altogether oppoſite to thoſe that are exhibited in the play.

When *Medea*, to be revenged on *Jaſon* for leaving her, murders her own children by him in a fury of revenge, the picture is ſo drawn as to give the audience a juſt horror for the paſſion of revenge, which is capable of carrying a mother to ſuch unnatural extremities.

The Poet would raiſe the affection of his audience only to virtuous characters, and there only what is praiſe-worthy is to be commended. We pity their errors whilſt we reſolve to avoid them.

Comedy has its efficacy in the ſame manner. Avarice, knavery, debauchery, coquetry, vanity, ruſticity, *&c.* are ridiculed in Comedy, to make men hate thoſe vices and imperfections: and thus it becomes uſeful in a lower degree to reſtrain the follies and vices of common life, which are often not taken notice of, and ſometimes not underſtood by the ſpeculative philoſopher: yet, when become habitual to a people, they prove deſtructive of the peace and happineſs of ſociety, and tend to the ſubverſion of the ſtate. Every one's reflection may furniſh him with inſtances of this kind both antient and modern, when certain vices and follies that eſcaped the cenſure of the magiſtrate, whoſe power is limited within the compaſs of the laws, have been ſucceſsfully ridiculed and laughed out of countenance on the ſtage. But the Poet who makes his Hero in Comedy a ſucceſsful rake, a triumphant debauchee, openly affronts the ſenſe as well as manners of his audience: For the lewd villain that invades the bed of his friend, or debauches his daughter, will be as jealous as any man to guard his own honour, and preſerve his family from ſhame and diſgrace.

In great and flouriſhing ſtates, Comedy under proper regulations may do good ſervice. Many villanies as well as follies may be expoſed in a manner ſo as to

meet with general approbation. As pride is the darling paſſion of the heart of man, there is nothing he can bear leſs than to be made ridiculous: Some have gone ſo far as to think that there have died more martyrs to pride than to the truth. Honour in its common acceptation among well-bred people, ſay they, is but a genteel name for it: how much evil goes uncommitted, becauſe honour forbids it! But as it is beneath the dignity and ſanctity of religion to play one Paſſion againſt another, the ſtage is the only place where this is allowable, and which, by ſhewing certain vices to be ridiculous, renders them odious. If licentious poets have abuſed this liberty, by affixing the marks of ridicule to ſubjects that deſerve a much better treatment, we are not to argue againſt any thing from the abuſe of it. It is well known the pulpit itſelf has been abuſed to the worſt purpoſes; yet no ſober man would from thence argue againſt the preſent uſe of it.

AGAIN, may virtuous characters in life may be rendered ſo amiable on the ſtage by the Poets addreſs, as may tempt ſome men to be at the pains to attain them. Next to pride, ſloth is moſt predominant in men; ſo that motives and incitements of all ſorts had need be ſet before them to ſtir them up to action, and form virtuous habits in them: For if it is ſure on the one hand, that much more evil would be committed were men leſs indolent, ſo on the other it is as certain, that much more good might be done in the world, if men would be prevailed upon to put their good deſigns in practice, and follow their good inclinations: And as evils are often greater in imagination than reality, ſo moſt duties in life ſeem much more difficult in practice, than they are found to be upon trial. If then a juſt repreſentation of the eaſe that attends the diſcharge of many virtues, and the attainment of good accompliſhments be made, by an able hand, I doubt not but many may, by ſuch repreſentations on the ſtage, be drawn to try what ſeems ſo practicable, ſo becoming, and ſo advantagious in its conſequences.

But methinks I hear it already objected, this uſefulneſs of the ſtage is but imaginary, ſince there never were any Poets who had the good of mankind ſo much at heart, and the promoting of virtue in view in their compoſitions, and therefore we have little reaſon to expect they ſhould be better now. It is eaſy to reply, by ſhewing, that ſeveral of the antient dramatic Poets have not much deviated from this rule of virtue, particularly the Tragedians; and it were no hard matter to bring Comedy into the ſame views: Neither *Plautus* nor *Terence*, upon a fair enquiry, will be found much deviating from the eſtabliſhed rules of morality in their times. If that was defective, it was not their fault, but of the religion they profeſſed. And ſure it will not be pretended, that under the advantages of truth and revelation, Poets cannot be more regular in their writings. If the ſtage be ſubmitted to the inſpection of a proper magiſtrate of adequate skill and probity, I do not underſtand, how any Plays ſhould be acted, but what tend to the good purpoſes already mentioned.

Thus I think it has been ſhewn, that the Stage may be made, what it ſeems to have been firſt intended by the antient *Greeks*, a ſchool of civil virtues. They always thought it of uſe to inſtill the principles of juſtice and piety, of temperance and humanity in the minds of the people; and their wiſeſt philoſophers, in their moſt ſerious diſcourſes and writings, cite the dramatic writers to confirm the rules they have laid down for the practice of the moral virtues. To object that the beſt characters have been expoſed on the ſtage, ſhews the abuſe of a thing, that was intended for better purpoſes, but is no ſufficient objection to an art every way beneficial to ſociety, when executed agreeably to its natural tendency, and reſtrained by the rules of public decency.

THE LIFE OF SENECA.

LUCIUS ANNÆUS SENECA the Philoſopher was not author of all the ten Tragedies, that are commonly publiſhed under the name of ANNÆUS SENECA. *Lipſius* attributes only the *Medea* to him; the *Thebaid* he thinks ſhould be aſcribed to ſome writer of the *Auguſtan* age; and the laſt, called *Octavia*, he, with moſt other critics, ſuppoſes the work of ſome bad Poet of the *Auguſtan* age. The reſt in his opinion were written by a nephew of the Philoſopher, whom ſome critics rather believe to have been his ſon; which I cannot aſſent to for this reaſon, becauſe hiſtory mentions but one ſon of his by his firſt wife, who died a boy ſome time before his father's baniſhment. See *Conſol. ad Helviam:* and *Tacitus* no where ſays he had any children by his ſecond wife *Paulina*. *Maurus Terentianus* ſpeaks of ANNÆUS SENECA a tragic Poet, who flouriſhed after *Pomponius Secundus*; and *Pomponius* was cotemporary with SENECA the Philoſopher.

In tragicis junxere choris hunc ſæpe diſerti
Annæus Seneca & Pomponius ante ſecundus.

Sidonius Apollinaris actually diſtinguiſhes between SENECA the Philoſopher and *Seneca* the Tragedian.

Quorum unus colit Hiſpidum Platona,
Orcheſtram quatit alter Euripidis.

But

But whether the tragic Poet was ſo nearly related to the Philoſopher as to be his Nephew, may be queſtioned 'till we find ſome authority for this conjecture: But let him be who he will, as we have no account of his life, nor of the author of the *Thebaid*, nor yet of the writer of the *Octavia*, we muſt paſs them by to ſay ſomething of the Philoſopher, who is on all hands preſumed to have compoſed the *Medea*, and by ſome good critics is reckoned author of the *Troades* and *Hyppolitus*.

Lucius Annæus Seneca was born at *Corduba* in *Spain*, about the beginning of the vulgar *Æra*: for we find he died the 12th year of *Nero*, of *Chriſt* 65, being upwards of threeſcore. His Father *Marcus*, who was of the order of Knights, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his eloquence at *Rome*, and ſome of his works that are now extant, ſhew him to have been a man of an exquiſite taſte, a bright genius, and a good critic: At his death, he left our Author poſſeſſed of an ample fortune, which he afterwards immenſely increaſed: for notwithſtanding his application to philoſophy, he applied himſelf to public affairs, and was both Quæſtor and Prætor; but it does not appear whether he obtained theſe honours before his baniſhment, which happened on this occaſion.

Julia the daughter of *Germanicus* having been long notorious for her incontinency, the Emperor *Claudius* thought it expedient to baniſh ſuch Perſons as were ſaid to have had any intrigues with that Princeſs; and the Empreſs *Meſſalina*, having conceived ſome diſguſt to Seneca, involved him, whoſe continency was as univerſally acknowledged as it was admired, in the number of thoſe criminal lovers, and baniſhed him into the iſland *Corſica*; where he lived eight years, which he ſpent in the amuſements of ſtudy, and is thought to have often comforted himſelf with writing Poetry during his exile.

Meſſalina being dead, *Agrippina*, whom *Claudius* married, and who was convinced of the innocence of Seneca, prevailed with the Emperor to recall him:

After which, as a proof of her good opinion of him, ſhe made him Præceptor to her young ſon *Nero*, for whoſe ſucceſſion to the empire ſhe was then making way. SENECA ſo carefully and ſucceſsfully diſcharged this important truſt, that had the young Prince continued to hearken to his wiſe counſels, as he did during the firſt five years of his government, he would have been the delight, as he afterwards made himſelf the abomination of all his ſubjects. SENECA's riches are ſaid to have increaſed ſo much under the favour of the Prince, that his eſtate in *Britain* was computed at two millions ſterling.

BUT inſenſibly, as *Nero* gave ear to flattery, and his depraved appetites, SENECA's intereſt began to decline at court; from whence he at length held it prudent to retire, when he found it in vain to oppoſe *Nero*'s humour, who now only wiſhed for ſome pretence to get rid of this troubleſome monitor.

SENECA had ſpent ſome time in a peaceful retirement, when *Piſo* and ſome other *Romans* of note, growing impatient of *Nero*'s tyranny, and entering into a conſpiracy againſt him, were diſcovered and put to death. *Tacitus* leaves it undecided, whether SENECA had entered into this conſpiracy: however, *Nero* is ſuppoſed to have privately inſtructed *Natalis* (one of the conſpirators, who impeached the reſt) to accuſe SENECA of being in the plot. The hiſtorian obſerves, that *Nero* had not long before endeavoured, by corrupting ſome of the family, to poiſon SENECA; which, either through the philoſopher's great abſtinence or his precaution, had no effect. When an officer came to him from *Nero* to examine him, as to what knowledge he had of *Piſo*'s meaſures, he anſwered to the ſeveral charges laid againſt him with ſuch an air of innocence and indifference, as provoked the tyrant, when he heard it, to ſend him an order to die. His wife *Paulina*, a lady of great beauty and virtue, ſo earneſtly intreated her husband to let her die with him, that after having uſed all his art and eloquence to diſſuade her from it, he was at length forced to conſent to her importunity.

THEIR

THEIR veins were opened at one time, but SENECA, who was in years, and dried up by a long courſe of abſtinence, bled very ſlowly. Fearing therefore that the ſight of his ling'ring death might increaſe *Paulina*'s pains, and that the ſight of her in the ſame condition ſhould break through his beſt reſolutions, and make him act at his death in a manner unbecoming the conſtancy of his life, he intreated her to be conveyed into another apartment. Having thus avoided that dangerous trial of his conſtancy, with a chearful countenance and perfect compoſure of mind he addreſſed himſelf to his weeping friends, and gently reminded them of the juſt reproach they made themſelves liable to, by yielding ſo much to their grief: then as it were collecting all his ſinking ſpirits, he employed all the charms of his eloquence in diſcourſing to them of the excellency of virtue, and in explaining to them the moſt ſublime moral truths. Theſe his dying words were carefully taken down in writing by ſome of the aſſiſtants, and were afterwards communicated to the public, "For which "reaſon (ſays *Tacitus*) I have forborn inſerting them "in my hiſtory." The dying words of great men are always valuable, ſo that the loſs of this curious Piece is much to be lamented.

AT length, SENECA perceiving his death too tedious and lingering, ſwallowed a ſtrong poiſon, which his friend *Statius Annæus*, an able phyſician, adminiſtered to him; but his body was already ſo exhauſted, and decayed, as to be proof againſt it. Then SENECA ordered his attendants to lead him into a hot bath, and as ſoon as he came in, took ſome of the water and ſprinkled it upon them, ſaying, He made that libation to *Jupiter* the deliverer: He was ſoon after ſuffocated by the vapours of the bath, and ſo expired.

NERO, who had no particular reaſon to be offended with *Paulina*, had diſpatched ſome officers to prevent her death: they found her ſo faint, that it was generally believed, ſhe was altogether inſenſible of

what was done, when they bound up her arms. Though ſhe was ſnatched from death by the tyrant's mercy, and the care of her friends, and ſurvived her husband a few years, yet the paleneſs of her countenance, which ſhewed the great quantity of blood ſhe had loſt, glorioufly witneſſed to the world that generous affection which ſhe bore her husband.

It is not my province here to ſay any thing in particular of Seneca, either as a polite writer in proſe, or as an excellent moral and natural philoſopher; though his character, in theſe reſpects, is much more conſiderable than as a writer of Tragedies. He ſhewed himſelf likewiſe a very witty writer in that excellent ſatyrical piece, which is called, *The Apotheoſis of the Emperor* Claudian.

But before we enter into his character as a dramatic Poet, I ſhall make a previous reflection or two on the conduct of the Antients in dramatic poetry, as far as it ſeems to deviate from the received rules of our modern critics, who, in many reſpects, have taught us, in theory at leaſt, to improve on the Antients.

The parts of a Play, in which its morals ſhould appear, are the fable, and the characters: In their characters they have been tolerably exact, and their chorus took care to rectify or palliate whatever might ſeem contrary to the ſtrict rules of virtue, or was dubious and admitted of a double ſenſe. The Reader will obſerve, that I ſpeak only of Tragedy. The fable, which *Ariſtotle* calls the ſoul of Tragedy, if well conſtituted, ſhould be moral. I cannot ſay, that I find many of the Antients attended to this rule. This neglect might ſometimes proceed from their adhering too cloſely to the hiſtorical accounts of their heroic anceſtors, whoſe adventures were the ſubjects of moſt of their Tragedies. And they might imagine a ſtrict obſervation of what we call poetical juſtice, neither ſo agreeable, nor ſo conducive to the great end of their Tragedy, which was to fill the minds of the audience with terror and compaſſion.

Another

ANOTHER great fault in their Drama ſeems to have been, their making the Gods interpoſe ſo often without any viſible neceſſity, and ſometimes act very unjuſtly. Both theſe faults are alſo chargeable on their Epic Poetry, only, as this ſpecies of Poetry aims at the ſublime and the marvellous in the œconomy of its fable, which this machinery of Gods intervening promotes, it is hereby rendered more probable, or at leaſt more excuſable in Epic than Dramatick Poetry. So that the defect of their fable, in point of morality, muſt be given up to the ſeverity of the modern critics, ſome of whom, and particularly *Dacier*, have in vain attempted, out of their great zeal for the ancients, to find a moral, where they never thought of any themſelves. Yet, in juſtice to ſome of them, we muſt grant, that the abſurd doctrines of their theology ſhould, in ſome ſort, excuſe their conduct with reſpect to the characters of their Gods. Thus, whenever, according to the received doctrine of their prieſts, and even of the ſtoic philoſophers, *Jupiter* is confounded with Fate and blind Deſtiny, no juſtice can be expected from his Diſpenſations. And ſo long as the whole tribe of inferior Gods is ſuppoſed ſubject to all the extravagancies of human paſſions and infirmities, it cannot be preſumed, that they ſhould either diſpence their favours, or wreck their vengeance according to the real merits or demerits of mankind.

THERE are two Tragedies out of the ten extant under SENECA's name, which I propoſe to examine. The firſt is *Medea*, which, as being on all hands attributed to the philoſopher, will ſhew his character as a tragic Poet.

THE ſecond is *OEdipus*, the moſt celebrated ſubject in all antiquity, which, I think, is to be aſcribed to the other SENECA, who, in the dramatic part, has not only out-done the philoſopher, but even rivals *Sophocles*, his great original, though this Play is eſteemed the *Greek* Poet's maſter-piece,

TO begin with the Tragedy of *Medea*. It has but five perſons or characters. *Medea*, her confidant, *Jaſon*

ſon, Creon, and a meſſenger. The ſcene is at *Corinth*, before *Creon*'s palace. The chorus may be ſuppoſed a company of *Corinthians* waiting there. The firſt act conſiſts of but one ſcene, and the ſong of the chorus. *Medea* having heard of *Jaſon*'s nuptials with *Creüſa*, *Creon*'s daughter, declares her reſolution of being revenged on her husband for his infidelity. Then ſhe goes out, and the chorus ſing the hymeneal ſong in praiſe of *Jaſon* and *Creüſa*.

In the firſt ſcene of the 2d act, *Medea* enters with her confidant, who endeavours to calm her paſſion. *Creon* comes in the ſecond ſcene, and finding *Medea* there, orders the guards to bid her inſtantly depart out of his dominions. She advances to ſpeak to the King, but all that ſhe obtains by her expoſtulations and entreaties, is one day's time to ſee and bid her children farewell. Then both leave the ſtage, and the chorus concludes the act, by declaiming againſt the criminal boldneſs of thoſe men who firſt ventured to ſea, * yet foretells, the time ſhall come when all nations ſhall, as it were, be joined and united by univerſal trade and commerce. *Medea* and her confidant begin the third act. She grows more enraged, and the other uſes more arguments in vain, to diſſuade her from giving way to her paſſion and revenge. In the ſecond ſcene, *Jaſon*

* It was 1500 years, before what the Poet there ſpeaks of came to be verified by our navigation to the *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Indies*, and above 700 between *Jaſon* and SENECA. The poet having deſcribed the trade of the *Greeks*, *Ægyptians* and *Phœnicians* of thoſe times, or rather of the *Romans* of his own time, goes on thus;

——— *venient annis*
Sæcula ſeris, quibus oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, & ingens
Pateat Tellus, Tiphyſque novos
Detegat orbes; nec ſit terris
Ultima Thulæ.

Ortelius, the geographer, remarks with pleaſure, That the poet, who was a *Spaniard*, has here prophetically deſcribed the diſcovery of the new world by his countrymen the *Spaniards*. This paſſage, however extraordinary, was abſurd in the mouth of the *Corinthian* chorus.

comes to *Medea*, ſolemnly proteſting his great trouble and concern, that he is forced to divorce her, which he had not conſented to ſo much for the preſervation of his own life, as out of a fatherly tenderneſs for their two children, who would elſe inevitably be involved in the ſame ruin with their parents. Their caſe was this. *Medea*, to be revenged on *Pelias*, King of *Theſſaly*, for his cruelty to *Jaſon*, had pretended, by virtue of her enchantments to reſtore the old King to youth and vigour. But having perſuaded his daughters to conſent, ſhe treacherouſly killed him in the operation. This ſo exaſperated the neighbouring *Greeks* againſt her and *Jaſon*, that he fled the country, and came with his family for refuge and protection to *Corinth*. *Creon* offers him both, on condition he would divorce *Medea*, and marry his daughter *Creüſa*. *Jaſon* comes in this ſcene, to juſtify his conduct to *Medea*; he aſſures her, it was owing to his moſt earneſt requeſt, that *Creon* had been prevailed with to change the ſentence of her death into baniſhment. *Medea*, far from being ſatisfied with his apology, reproaches him with great bitterneſs for his ingratitude and reminds him, that all the crimes ſhe is accuſed of, were committed for his ſake and advantage. Then ſhe tries to perſuade him to fly with her from *Corinth*; or, at leaſt, deſires he would let her have the comfort to take her children along with her, to be the companions of her exile. Here *Jaſon* betrays a father's fondneſs for his two ſons; which *Medea* immediately lays hold of as a fit occaſion of revenge, and obtains his conſent to take her laſt leave of them. The chorus conclude the act, by commemorating the terrible manner in which *Neptune*, according to the *Greek* fables, is ſaid to have puniſhed the preſumption of the *Argonauts*, who were the firſt conſiderable ſailors among them; and then follows a prayer to that God, to ſpare *Jaſon*, who was innocent, ſince it was by the direction of the Gods that he undertook the *Colchian* expedition.

Medea's confidant opens the 4th act, and deſcribes with horror the deadly preparations which her miſtreſs

ſtreſs was making to execute ſome dreadful deſign. The ſecond ſcene diſcovers *Medea* in the midſt of her magical ceremonies, and invoking all the infernal powers to prepare the rich, but fatal garment ſhe intends as a preſent for *Creüſa*, and which was to be ſo impregnated with fire, that, as ſoon as the princeſs put it on, it ſhould conſume her, and all the Palace of *Creon*. When this is done, ſhe ſends for her children to carry the fatal gift to the bride. The chorus cloſe the act, expreſſing their apprehenſions of *Medea*'s ill deſigns in general, which they pray the Gods to avert.

The fifth act begins with a perſon who brings a dreadful account how *Creüſa*, with her Father *Creon*, were conſumed by a terrible fire that broke out in the palace, as ſoon as *Creüſa* had put on the robe which *Medea* had ſent her. The ſorcereſs now triumphing in the general diſtreſs, and this immediate ſucceſs of her revenge, prepares to compleat it by the murder of her children. Nature and rage for a time ſtrive in her heart. In the interim, *Jaſon* comes out with ſome perſons to ſeize her, which ſhe apprehending, at firſt ſight of them retires to the top of the houſe with the children. There ſhe cruelly inſults him a while, and then kills one of her ſons in his ſight. The afflicted Father uſes all his intreaties to ſave the other's life, but in vain: then in his diſtraction he calls upon her to kill him too; but *Medea*, ſatisfied with this full vengeance, rides away in triumph thro' the air in a chariot drawn by flying dragons. *Jaſon* in deſpair cannot forbear accuſing providence, and concludes the Play with this miſerable reflection, That where-ever ſhe goes, ſhe muſt be a witneſs to the world that there are no Gods.

As this ſubject has been ſo highly celebrated by all the ancients, I was the more willing to give this ſketch of it; but cannot diſcover what there is in it, that deſerved their admiration. It has abſolutely no moral: for though it may be granted, that *Jaſon* could have no excuſe to leave *Medea*, who had made her

her ſelf odious to all the world by her crimes, ſince they were committed all for his ſake, whom ſhe paſſionately lov'd; yet both *Creon* and *Creüſa*, whom ſhe deſtroys, ſeems at leaſt much more innocent than ſhe can be ſaid to have been, who goes away fully revenged and unpuniſhed. I ſay nothing about her enchantments, becauſe, tho' I think they are inconſiſtent with probability, and ſo unfit for Tragedy; yet as I find *Lucan* introduces *Erictho* with her enchantments in his *Pharſalia*, the ſcene of which is laid ſo many ages after, and ſo near the time of his writing it, I am ready to think the belief of ſorcery and enchantments univerſally prevailed, at leaſt among the vulgar, even in SENECA's and his time.

IF the Plan of *Ovid*'s Tragedy of *Medea* was no better, I know not how to juſtify the *Romans*, who have ſpoken of it with ſo much applauſe: though I muſt confeſs, I think the ancients, as well as we ſeem to have too often neglected the right conſtitution of the fable in tragedy. Their ſcene is indeed generally more regular, as well as the time of action: But juſtice and the moral characters are not always carefully maintained, eſpecially the former, as we have already obſerved. However, *Euripides* has been more judicious than SENECA in the management of this ſubject. The character of *Ægæus* King of *Athens*, who is ſuppoſed to have then been at *Corinth*, and loved *Medea*, has been injudiciouſly omitted by SENECA: which *Euripides* has made good uſe of, as he has of the Pædagogue or ſervant that attended *Medea*'s children, whoſe converſation with the nurſe or confidant, very naturally introduces an account of what was fit for the audience to be informed of, as previous to the enſuing action of the play. This SENECA omits, and ſo is forced to begin the play by a tedious ſoliloquy. The Chorus likewiſe in *Euripides* are not meer ſpectators, as in SENECA, but bear a real part through the play; nor is his ſtage ever left without ſome principal actor, by which means the action is carried on in a more uniform manner, than in the

Roman

Roman Poet: But the *Greek* has no more regard to poetical juſtice in the cataſtrophe, than the other: Indeed *Medea* does not kill her children on the ſtage, they are heard by the Chorus crying out for mercy to their mother behind the ſcenes.

It is obſervable, that *Ariſtotle* prefers what he calls the Pathetic to the Moral Tragedies; but whether he does this as a Philoſopher, or as a Critic, who forms his rules from the practice of the moſt celebrated Poets, I cannot pretend to determine.

Seneca's ſtile is magnificent, the ſentiments are ſublime, and the images very lively and poetical; but he wants that noble ſimplicity and pathetic manner which recommends *Euripides*, and in the whole it ſeems to have been written for the cloſet rather than the ſtage.

But let us ſee whether the younger *Seneca*, author of *OEdipus*, had not a better genius for dramatic poetry: The hiſtorical fable of the play is as follows.

Laius King of *Thebes* and Father of *OEdipus*, was informed by an Oracle, that his wife *Jocaſta* would bear a ſon, that ſhould kill him. To elude the danger threatened by the Oracle, *Laius*, as ſoon as the child was born, gives him to one of his ſervants to be killed. The man being touched with compaſſion, inſtead of taking away the innocent infant's life, having bored his feet, and paſſed an ozier twig through them, hung him by the heels in a wood, and there left him to the farther diſpoſal of Providence. It was the child's good fortune to be found thus hanging by a domeſtic of *Polybus* King of *Corinth*, who took little *OEdipus* down (who was ſo named from his ſwelled feet) and carried him to his maſter. The King being childleſs, adopted *OEdipus*, and brought him up at *Corinth* as his Son.

About the time *OEdipus* was grown to man's eſtate he happened to have ſome words with a *Corinthian*, who in the heat of diſpute let fall ſome words reflecting on the uncertainty of his parentage, which had hitherto by the expreſs order of *Polybus*, been concealed

concealed from him. *OEdipus*, who grew very uneaſy at this reproach, went to conſult the Oracle at *Delphi*, there to learn a more certain account of his parentage; but is forbid by the Oracle to make any farther enquiry about it, for it was his deſtiny to kill his Father, and beget children on his Mother. Alarmed and perplexed at this terrible anſwer, he reſolves to abandon *Corinth*, which he ſtill believed to be his native country: on the road to *Thebes* he meets *Laius*, and, a quarrel ariſing between them about the way, kills his Father in the fray, and ſoon after proceeds on his journey to *Thebes*, which at his arrival he finds in confuſion, both on the account of their King's unfortunate death (the news of which was juſt arrived) and becauſe of the ravages committed by the cruel monſter *Sphinx*. The only means of deliverance from this laſt calamity, was for ſome body to expound the riddle ſhe propoſed, but as many as failed in the attempt forfeited their lives; which having been the fate of ſeveral already, deterred others from ſo dangerous an undertaking. As an encouragement, the *Thebans* now publickly offered the Crown and Queen *Jocaſta* in marriage to him that ſhould ſucceed. This tempted *OEdipus* to undertake to expound the riddle, which he did, upon which the monſter through grief and indignation caſt itſelf headlong from a rock, and ſo periſhed. Thus was *Thebes* delivered, and the generous deliverer receiving the promiſed reward, ignorantly mounted his Father's throne and bed.

Thus far the hiſtory of *OEdipus* precedes the action of the Play we are about to examine; and as the whole action of it naturally ariſes from the foregoing account, *Sophocles* artfully introduces a narration of the whole ſtory at the unravelling of the plot, which is eſteemed as beautiful as any of the ancients or moderns.

Thus far *OEdipus* is to be ſuppoſed to have maintained the character of a juſt and wiſe man: invincible ignorance excuſes the ſecret guilt or rather calamity of his actions; and accordingly in the firſt

ſcene

ſcene of the *Greek* Poet, the Prieſt of *Jupiter* addreſſes him as a good and innocent Prince. But to come to SENECA's Play.

HE omits that circumſtance, and introduces *OEdipus* and *Jocaſta* in the firſt ſcene of the firſt act, lamenting their people's diſtreſs, and a Chorus of *Thebans* imploring the mercy of the Gods, and deſcribing the dreadful havock which the plague makes among them, concludes the act. As they go off the ſtage, they ſee *Creon*, *Jocaſta*'s brother, who was juſt returned from *Delphi*, where *OEdipus* had ſent him to enquire what was to be done to ſtop the plague. *OEdipus* opens the ſecond act with *Creon*, whom he preſſes to acquaint him with the anſwer of *Apollo*. At length *Creon* informs him, that the Oracle ordered that the murtherer of *Laius* ſhould be driven out of the city, and then the plague would ceaſe. *OEdipus*, having made heavy imprecations againſt the murtherer, deſires *Creon* to inform him of the particular manner of *Laius*'s death: *Creon* tells him, that the King being on the road with but a few attendants, as in time of peace, was attacked by ſome robbers and killed: Then obſerving the blind prophet *Tireſias* and his daughter *Manto* advancing, *OEdipus* orders a ſacrifice to be prepared, that the prophet may by that means conſult the Gods and diſcover the murtherer. The whole proceſs of the ſacrifice, which is performed on the ſtage, is full of the moſt ominous indications: but the prophet not being yet able to find out the criminal, reſolves to have recourſe to necromancy, and calls up the ghoſt of *Laius*; but before he goes off the ſtage for this purpoſe, he orders the Chorus to ſing an hymn in praiſe of *Bacchus*, which cloſes the ſecond act.

IN the third, *Creon* comes with *OEdipus*, and tells him, that *Tireſias* having enquired of the ghoſt of *Laius*, who had killed him, was told, that *OEdipus* was the man. He being ſtill, in a great meaſure, perſuaded that *Polybus* was his Father, denies his having killed his Father, or commited inceſt with his Mother,

Mother, and ſo being enraged with *Creon*, who ſeemed to charge him with thoſe crimes, ſends him to priſon, ſuſpecting it was a plot laid between *Creon* and *Tireſias*, to procure the former the crown. The Chorus ends the act by excuſing *OEdipus*'s conduct, and accuſing the hard fate of *Thebes*, which, from its firſt foundation, had been doomed to undergo a ſeries of calamities.

OEDIPUS opens the fourth act, being conſcious to himſelf of his own innocence, yet ſeeming confounded at the contrary declaration of the Gods, and by degrees begins to miſtruſt, that the perſon whom he had killed in the fray on his way to *Thebes* might be *Laius*, and asking *Jocaſta*, who was now come on the ſtage, about the time and place of the King's death, her account confirms his ſuſpicion. In the next ſcene comes a meſſenger from *Corinth*, to acquaint him with his Father *Polybus*'s death, and that the Queen his Mother ſent to invite him to come and take the government upon him. *OEdipus* is overjoy'd to hear that his Father had died a natural death, but being ſtill mindful of the firſt Oracle, fears to go to *Corinth*, becauſe of his Mother. The zealous meſſenger, who, according to SENECA, is ſuppoſed to be the very man that had received *OEdipus* from the ſhepherd, that *Laius* had ſent to kill him, aſſures *OEdipus*, he need not fear the Oracle, for that he was not the ſon of *Merope*, Queen of *Corinth*, and then proceeds to give him an account of the whole adventure. For SENECA differs a little from the received ſtory, and ſuppoſes that *Phorbas*, the ſhepherd of King *Laius*, meeting with this ſervant of *Polybus*, whilſt he was going to hang up the child by the feet, which he had already bored, inſtead of doing ſo, gave him to the *Corinthian*, who brought him to *Polybus*. *Phorbas* being now ſent for by *OEdipus*, and threatned with the rack, is forced to diſcover all, which plunges the wretched *OEdipus* into diſtraction and deſpair; the ſong of the Chorus ſhuts up the act, preferring the ſecurity of private life in a middle ſtation,

tion, to the dangerous changes to which the throne is expoſed. A *Theban* enters in the firſt ſcene of the fifth act, giving an account of the conſequence of *OEdipus*'s deſpair, and his putting out his eyes. The Chorus excuſe this action, only blaming him for ſtriving to avoid the decrees of Fate, which we ſhall find was intended by SENECA for the moral of the Play. But to proceed; in the ſecond ſcene, *OEdipus* being blind, comes forward, and meeting *Jocaſta*, after ſome melancholic expoſtulations, ſuitable to their preſent horrors of mind, ſhe ſnatches the ſword from his ſide, and kills herſelf. *OEdipus* goes off, and baniſhes himſelf from *Thebes*, as the Oracle had directed, which ends the Play.

I think moſt of the alterations which SENECA has made from *Sophocles*, are for the better, and particularly the laſt, of making *Jocaſta* kill herſelf with *OEdipus*'s ſword. In *Sophocles* ſhe hangs herſelf behind the ſcenes. The *Greek* has more decorum, the *Roman* is more natural in this point.

I come now to the paſſage from the Chorus in the 5th act, in which I think SENECA has given the moral of the Play.

Fatis agimur; cedite Fatis;
Non ſollicitæ poſſunt curæ
Mutare fati ſtamina fuſi.
Quicquid patimur mortale genus
Quicquid facimus, venit ex alto:
Servatque ſuæ decreta colûs
Lacheſis. Dura revoluta manu
Omnia certo tramite vadunt;
Primuſque dies dedit extremum.
Non illa Deo vertiſſe licet,
Quæ nexa ſuis currunt Cauſis.
It cuique ratus, prece non ulla
Mobilis, ordo: multis ipſum
Timuiſſe nocet; multi ad Fatum
Venere ſuum dum Fata timent.

The concluſion of this paſſage very ſtrongly and particularly intimates, that *OEdipus*, by ſeeking to decline,

cline, unavoidably brought on his own ruin. This doctrine is agreeable to the Stoic philoſophy, which ſect was the moſt prevailing in the *Roman* Empire, from the time of SENECA the Philoſopher, down to the Emperor *M. Aurelius Antoninus*. So that it would be a weak argument to prove this Play was written by the Philoſopher, to ſay that this moral is founded on the Stoical principles. For if we ſuppoſe the author to be the nephew of the Philoſopher, which is as probable as the other, it is natural to preſume he would follow the ſect in vogue, and which his uncle had made ſo illuſtrious.

As for the ſtile of *OEdipus*, I think it more natural and better ſuited to the ſtage than that of the *Medea*.

BY theſe ſketches I hope the reader may form ſome judgment of the method of the ancients in the deſign and conduct of their Tragedies. The Philoſopher's *Medea*, I muſt confeſs, is inferior to that of *Euripides*, at the ſame time, I think the *OEdipus* of the other *Seneca*, in moſt points equal, and in ſome ſuperior to that of *Sophocles*, and much the beſt of the *Latin* Tragedies extant, which we are not here conſidering, as the generality of Commentators do, only with regard to the ſtile and ſentiments, but as a Dramatic Poem.

THE *Octavia*, the only remaining *Roman* Tragedy, properly ſo called, was the work of ſome Rhetorician, who neither underſtood the rules of the Drama, nor of juſt writing, and is as faulty in the ſtile as in the reſt.

THE other ſeven Tragedies, excepting the *Thebaid*, have many beauties; the ſtile is generally noble, the ſentiments ſublime, but the fable and execution of theſe Plays is irregular, though they are preferable, in all theſe reſpects, to the *Thebaid*, which is but an indifferent compoſition, and little better than the *Octavia*. If the reſt are not examined ſtrictly by the rules of the ſtage, they will not want admirers; for the authors in general ſtudied the beauty of the ſtile more than the propriety of characters, and the regularity of the Drama.

THE

THE LIFE OF *PLAUTUS.*

PLAUTUS was born at *Sarſina*, now *Sezza*, a ſmall town in *Umbria* a Province of *Italy*, now called *Æmilia:* His proper name was *Marcius Accius*, and from his ſplay feet is ſuppoſed to have got the ſirname of PLAUTUS. His Parentage ſeems to have been mean; ſome think him the ſon of a ſlave, *Libertus.*

As if the memory of writers were ſufficiently preſerved in their works, we meet with very ſlender accounts of their lives among the Antients, and of none leſs than of PLAUTUS. Nor can we fix the time of the firſt acting of any of his Plays, and hardly aſcertain his age by any circumſtances of his life. *Cicero* has in general told us, that our Poet was ſome years younger than *Nævius* or *Ennius*, and that he died the firſt year of the elder *Cato*'s Cenſorſhip, when *Claudius Pulcher* and *Lucius Portius Licinius* were Conſuls, about the year of *Rome* 569, 184 years before the birth of CHRIST. *A. Gellius* (Lib. 3. Cap. 3.) ſays, that PLAUTUS flouriſhed at the ſame time that *Cato* the Cenſor was diſtinguiſhed at *Rome* for his eloquence: He adds out of *Varro*, that PLAUTUS's Plays were ſo well received by the *Romans*, that the Poet having been handſomely paid for them, thought of doubling his ſtock by trading; in which he was ſo unfortunate, that he loſt all he had got by the Muſes, and for

for his ſubſiſtence was reduced, in the time of a general famine, to work at the mill. How long he continued in this diſtreſs is no where ſaid; but *Varro* adds, that the Poet's wit was his beſt ſupport, and that he compoſed three Plays during this daily drudgery, the profits of which one would think might be enough to extricate him from this hard ſervice.

We have twenty of his Plays extant, though not all of them entire; none of them were compoſed at the mill, but before his bankruptcy. *Varro* allowed twenty ſix to be of his compoſition, which were all extant in *Gellius*'s time, though he ſeems doubtful whether he ſhould not aſcribe many others to Plautus, induced by the rule which *Varro* had laid down as the beſt to diſtinguiſh which were his, the peculiar humour that reigns in his Comedies, and which none could ever come up to. But then *Gellius* elſewhere ſeems to be of opinion that Plautus might have reviſed ſeveral Plays of other Poets, which by this means might in ſome places favour of his manner: So that we have no warrantable reaſon to go beyond the number *Varro* thought fit to allow him. That great critic had written a particular treatiſe on Plautus's works, the 2d book of which is quoted by *Gellius*, who has from thence preſerved to us the foregoing account of him. Many other Critics are mentioned by *Gellius* in the ſame place, who had all written ſome pieces upon Plautus, which are an argument of the great eſteem the *Romans* always preſerved for him; and there is a paſſage in *Arnobius*, where that Father ridiculing the heathen ſuperſtition, pleaſantly asks them, how they could imagine the acting the *Amphytryo* of Plautus could be a means to pacify the anger of *Jupiter*; from which one may infer the acting of that Play on ſolemn occaſions continued as late as *Dioclefian*'s reign. There were two authors, *M. Aquilius* and *Plautius*, whoſe right the Critics aſſerted to ſeveral Plays that had for ſome time paſſed in the common opinion for Plautus's; and indeed without ſuch an error the *Romans* could never

have made the number of his Plays exceed an hundred, as *Gellius* aſſures us ſome had done, and mentions the names of ſeveral of them.

Plautus is ſaid by *Varro* to have compoſed the following Epitaph for himſelf, which, as ſavouring of vanity, has been rejected by ſome Critics as not of his making: but as *Gellius* (Lib. 1. Cap. 24.) expreſly cites *Varro* for it, I ſhall give it the Reader with the tranſlation, leaving it to him to cenſure, or acquit the Poet for ſpeaking ſo advantagiouſly in his own praiſe.

Poſtquam eſt mortem aptus Plautus; Comœdia luget,
Scena eſt deſerta; hinc riſus, luduſque, jocuſque,
Et numeri innumeri ſimul omnes collachrymarunt.

Wit, laughter, jeſts, and all the train that uſe
T' adorn the Scene, and grace the Comic Muſe,
Forſook the Stage, at *Plautus'* death to mourn,
And Harmony undone ſat weeping o'er his urn.

Before we enter into a particular examination of Plautus's works, it may not be diſagreeable to take a ſhort view of the ſtate of the *Roman* Comedy, when he began to appear as a writer for the ſtage; a curſory review both of the *Greek* and *Roman* ſtage will moſt naturally lead us to our purpoſe.

The old *Greek* Comedy did not begin 'till ſome time after *Æſchylus*; its ſubjects were not feigned, but real; they ſpared not the perſons of the chief magiſtrates, whoſe dignity could not protect them from the inſolent invectives of the Poets. They were all introduced on the ſtage with their true countenances, and as it were *in propriâ perſonâ*. In time toleration rendered this liberty exceſſive, and the Poets were forbid naming the perſons whoſe actions they would expoſe: Yet under borrowed names they drew men's characters ſo juſtly, that with the help of the mask, none could miſtake the perſon intended. As this proceeding was a medium between the old and the new, it was named the Middle Comedy. Some of *Ariſtophanes*'s laſt Pieces are of this

nature. It was not long before this ſecond manner was thought as abuſive and dangerous as the firſt, and was accordingly prohibited, and the Poets ordered not only to uſe feigned names, and to leave off the mask ſo like the perſons, but to invent their ſubjects. Thus at length by proper regulations, Comedy became what it naturally ſhould be, a general imitation of the actions of common life, and was ſtiled the New Comedy: Such was the beginning, progreſs, and perfection of it among the *Greeks*.

Among the *Romans* it had much the ſame turn. The firſt ſcenic Games were celebrated by way of a ſolemn devotion, and to avert the anger of the Gods, when *Rome* had been long afflicted with the plague in the year of *Rome* 392, about the beginning of the 105th Olympiad: They were theatrical dances and geſticulations, accompanied with groſs railleries, in the Feſcennine or Saturnian Verſe. To this ſucceeded the Satires, a more regular Dramatic Poem, but full of low wit and humour ſomewhat reſembling our Farces. The warlike, but as yet unpoliſhed *Romans*, took up with theſe entertainments for the ſpace of an hundred and twenty years, and the *Greek* Comedy had attained its higheſt perfection in *Menander* fifty years before *Livius Andronicus*, a *Greek* by birth, bethought himſelf of tranſlating ſome of the works of his countrymen, in order to improve the *Roman* ſtage. *Livius*'s firſt Play was acted in the year of *Rome* 514, in the firſt year of the 135th Olympiad. *Nævius* brought one of his Plays on the ſtage about five years after; and about ſix years after that, Plautus was born: and if we ſuppoſe our author twenty two, when he wrote his firſt Play, it will fall in with the year of *Rome* 550. for it is likely he began very young, the neceſſitous circumſtances he laboured under being a ſpur to his wit and induſtry. About thirty years after *Nævius*, *Ennius* began to write plays, and though he began before our author, and was ſeveral years older, he lived many years after him: for *Ennius Gellius*, Lib. 17. Cap. 21. was ſixty ſeven when

he wrote the twelfth book of his annals. *Terence* was about nine years old when PLAUTUS died, in the year of *Rome* 569, and his *Andrian* was acted in the twenty eighth year of his age; though I think it very probable, that was not *Terence*'s first Play: so that here was not an interval of above eighteen years between PLAUTUS's last and *Terence*'s first Play. *Cæcilius Accius*, and *Pacuvius*, were cotemporaries with our author, and *Licinius* was not much elder. There were many other Poets sprung up during this time, but these are the most considerable. Thus in less than eighty years Comedy was begun and perfected among the *Romans*.

AFTER this general view of the *Greek* and *Roman* stage, let us carry on our enquiry into what more particularly relates to PLAUTUS. He has been particularly esteemed by the best judges both antient and modern on these two accounts: 1. The exact propriety of his expression, which has been made by many the standard of the purest *Latin*. 2. That which set him above all the *Roman* Comic writers, is the true ridicule and humour of his characters. This is the constant opinion of *Varro*, *Macrobius*, *Gellius*, and *Cicero*; and the most eminent modern Critics, as *Lipsius*, the *Scaligers*, *Muretus*, and *Turnebus*, not to name a long catalogue of others, who have not disputed PLAUTUS's excellency in these two respects. *Quintilian* indeed speaks little to the advantage of the *Roman* Comedy in general, in which he thinks his countrymen very deficient. It were to be wished he had explained himself more largely on this head. *Horace* has dealt more ingenuously with his Readers, in express terms condemning his Countrymen of the preceding Age for commending and admiring PLAUTUS's wit and numbers, and charges them with folly for so doing.

At nostri proavi Plautinos & numeros &
Laudavêre sales; nimiùm patienter utrumque
Ne dicam stultè mirati; si modo ego & vos

Scimus

Scimus inurbanum lepido ſeponere dicto,
Legitimumque ſonum digitis callemus & aure.
De Arte Poetica.

HORACE, as appears by many paſſages in his Epiſtles and Satires, was very zealous to aboliſh a falſe taſte, which prevailed even in the *Auguſtan* age of preferring the old Poets to all that ſucceeded them, without examining into their reſpective merit. In order to this, he thought it neceſſary to ſhew the *Romans* they were miſtaken. Thus he has condemned *Lucilius*, which cenſure however *Quintilian* diſapproves, ſaying, that Poet's Satires were as much above his reproaches, as they fell ſhort of the immoderate praiſes beſtowed on them by the admirers of *Lucilius*. I think we may apply this to PLAUTUS, whoſe wit was ſometimes low in compliance with the taſte of the age, and his numbers generally irregular thro' the imperfect ſtate of muſic, and the want of a good ear in the age he wrote for: Yet the generality in ſucceeding times excuſed his numbers, and liked his wit, perhaps too much, as thinking it without Alloy.

As to his numbers, PLAUTUS himſelf ſeems to have made no great account of them, according to the laſt line of his Epitaph, *Et numeri innumeri*, &c. that is, irregular numbers. It has been obſerved in the Introduction to the Dramatic Poets, that the chief merit of theſe numbers ſeems to have conſiſted in their fitneſs to the muſic that accompanied them in the actor's Declamation. Now the recitative muſic, to which PLAUTUS's Plays were ſet, was probably much more ſimple and unharmonious, than that compoſed in the *Auguſtan* age, when all the arts that ſerve to enliven and adorn life, were carried to their height: And this reflection will partly juſtify his low wit, which is generally ſuited to his characters, and poſſibly was well adapted to the taſte of his audience.

Horace was certainly to be commended, for endeavouring to introduce a better taſte, than that which had ſo prejudiced them in favour of antiquity, that they were blind to the groſſeſt faults of thoſe writers,

and were incapable of doing juſtice to the beſt modern performances. But he might, one ſhould think, have avoided ſo general a cenſure, which he paſſed in contradiction to the opinion of many of the beſt judges: And granting PLAUTUS ſhould abound in falſe wit, if it is introduced in the character of a Slave or Paraſite, I do not ſee how the Poet is affected by the cenſure, whilſt he makes them ſpeak in character. It was the audience, who ſhould be blamed for applauding what the Poet might mean to ridicule.

THE generality of writers I believe find it hard to reſiſt the temptation of being witty when they can; and yet it is judged to be ſo nice a point, that not one in a hundred is truly ſo where he pretends to it moſt.

THERE hardly ever appeared a brighter genius than that of *Ovid*; yet by too great a complacency in indulging it, he fell ſhort of that perfection for which nature ſeemed to have deſigned him.

Virgil's flegmatic temper corrected the heat of his fancy, yet I doubt his more juvenile works were not quite exempt from falſe wit; which indeed is manifeſtly true, if we allow ſome of theſe little Poems to be of his compoſing, which are vulgarly called his *Juvenilia*.

Lucan and *Seneca* were both of a noble ſpirit and unbounded fancy, that led them too far in purſuit of wit; but their eagerneſs has often made them with *Ixion* embrace a cloud inſtead of the real beauty they thought to enjoy.

EVEN our grave Cenſurer has ſometimes given into this falſe wit, where he pretends to be moſt witty, as in ſome of his Epodes, and the Satire on *Perſius* and *Rupilius*.

Terence I believe was aware of *Plautus*'s foible, and has cautiouſly avoided it, but has not eſcaped the other extream of coldneſs, in the general opinion, as well as of *Julius Cæſar*, to whom the following Verſes giving the character of *Terence* are aſcribed.

Tu quoque tu in ſummis, O dimidiate Menander,
Poneris, & merito, puri ſermonis amator,
Lenibus atque utinam ſcriptis adjuncta foret vis
Comica, ut æquato virtus polleret honore
Cum Græcis, neque in hac deſpectus parte jaceres:
Unum hoc maceror & doleo tibi deeſſe Terenti.

That is to ſay, "And thou, half *Menander*, thou art "juſtly placed in the rank of the greateſt Poets, for "the elegance of thy language: And I wiſh, that "the ſweetneſs of thy ſtile were accompanied with "that ſpirit Comedy requires, that thy merit might "equal that of the *Greeks*, and that thou hadſt not "been much inferior to other Poets in this part. "But this ſpirit is wanting, and it grieves me that "it is ſo."

MANY Critics have underſtood the *Vis Comica* that *Cæſar* here ſpeaks of to mean more particularly the livelineſs of the action and the ſpirit of the Drama, in which they ſay *Terence* is much PLAUTUS's inferior. But I cannot be of his opinion: for I think it appears upon enquiry, that *Terence* generally improved the Plays he tranſlated from the *Greek* by interweaving an underplot, to make the action more full and diverting. *Quintilian* is not ſatisfied with the *Roman* Comedy, and we know the nature of his ſubject, eloquence, led him to treat of the ſtile chiefly. He acknowledges (*Inſt. Orat.* Lib. 10. Cap. 1.) that *Varro*'s opinion as we have already ſeen, favoured PLAUTUS; but he does not ſeem to join with him. Proceeding to *Terence*, he agrees with *Cæſar* in allowing his ſtile to be elegant and polite; but finds not the Attic Urbanity; and from hence proceeds to conclude, that he deſpairs of ever ſeeing the Attic Urbanity expreſſed in *Latin*: what can we infer from hence, but that PLAUTUS in his opinion might have wit, but his language had not yet attained the laſt correctneſs and elegance, which he muſt indeed allow *Terence*'s had, but wanted ſpirit, *Salem Atticam*, Salt or Wit: For he does not contradict *Varro*'s commendation of PLAUTUS, but ſays, "I think we

" are deficient ſtill in the ſtile of our Comedies;" though *Varro* has ſaid, the Muſes would ſpeak in PLAUTUS's manner, had they ſpoke *Latin*. It is plain *Quintilian* thinks they had between them both what was united in *Menander*'s ſtile, who was the perfection of the *Attic* wit and elegance. This great Critic adds ſomething about the numbers of *Terence*, which is well worth our notice. " *Terence*'s Poetry (ſays " he) would have been much more agreeable, had " he kept to the Senarian or Trimeter Iambic mea- " ſure." I do not pretend to explain this particular beauty, which *Terence* wanted: The curious Reader may conſult a *Hare* or a *Bentley* in this nice particular. But I cannot but obſerve from hence, that this is a corroborating proof of what has been laid down as a certainty in the introduction, that the Antients were very careful to acquire an exact taſte and a nice ear to judge of harmony and numbers. If we ſuppoſe that by neglecting the Trimeter meaſure, *Terence*'s verſes were too proſaic, it will juſtify *Horace*'s condemning PLAUTUS's meaſures, which were yet more neglected, and ſo more grating to the delicate ear of the *Auguſtan* age.

WE have now gone through with our examination and cenſure of the ſtile and meaſure of PLAUTUS; let us ſee if he can fare better with reſpect to the Dramatic part of his character. That he is lively and entertaining, and haſtening with his characters to the winding up of the Play, is what *Horace* has allowed him to be, after the manner of *Epicharmus*:

Plautus ad Exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi.
Epiſt. 1. Lib. 2.

THIS *Epicharmus* was ſcholar of *Pythagoras*, and flouriſhed in *Sicily* in the time of *Servius Tullius*. *Plato* is ſaid to have made great improvements by the reading his Comedies. This Poet was baniſhed by *Hiero* King of *Sicily* for having ſpoken too freely of the Queen his wife. *Ariſtotle* in his Poeſies mentions the claim the *Sicilians* made to precedency in point

point of time, for the invention and improvement of Comedy, and ſeems to allow their pretenſions were juſt. *Horace* (Epiſt. 1. Lib. 2.) has afterwards ſpoken ſo dubiouſly of our Author with reſpect to his characters, that ſome interpret it praiſe, whilſt *Dacier* maintains it to have been a cenſure. The latter ſeems more probable, ſince *Horace*'s deſign in that place is to ſhew the great difficulty there is to write a good Comedy from the example of the beſt Poets, who have failed in ſome particulars. And indeed PLAUTUS ſeems to have over-charged ſome of his characters, and neglected others; which *Horace* is willing to attribute to the Poet's haſte in compoſing to get his money: though it does not ſo clearly appear, whether *Horace* has applied this avaricious character to PLAUTUS and *Dorſennus*, or to the latter only.

THERE is another objection made to PLAUTUS's conduct in the Drama, which is, that he often makes his actors interrupt the action to addreſs his audience, or makes them in the character of the Prologue give an account of the plot and ſubject of the following Play. The former I think is too abſurd to be defended, though it has been alledged, he did it in imitation of the Old or Middle Comedy, and that it was the general practice: At beſt it was a vicious complaiſance for his audience, and his beſt Plays are free from it. As to the ſecond part of the charge, it may be obſerved in his juſtification, that as his Plots are often cloſe and intricate, thoſe explanatory Prologues, that now ſeem ſo tedious to us, might be very agreeable to his audience, who were much aſſiſted by ſuch a previous inſtruction. That it leſſened their pleaſure by ſatisfying their curioſity before-hand in diſcovering the unravelling of the Plot and the other principal incidents before the Play began, muſt be acknowledged, and *Terence*'s manner to be more agreeable and ingenious: Yet on the other hand, it ſpares thoſe long narratives in the Play, which are ſometimes neceſſary to be made to give the audience the preparatory knowledge that they may underſtand

the ſequel, ſuch as that of *Simo* in the *Andrian* of *Terence:* The ſtory is admirably well told I confeſs, but that is due to *Terence*'s diligence and fine genius, and does not take off the general force of the objection. So confidants are neceſſary characters in Tragedy, to enable the Poets handſomly to acquaint the audience with what is in agitation, more than to carry on the action of the Drama. This is not offered with a deſign to approve PLAUTUS's method, which he has himſelf oftentimes found unneceſſary, but to hint rather at ſome of the motives which might have probably induced the Poet to this practice: To which we may add this other conſideration, That as the arts were then but in their infancy at *Rome*, the people's fancy was yet heavy and ſlow in apprehending, and conſequently inſenſible of the many refinements in theatrical Entertainments, which the enſuing conqueſt of *Greece* and *Aſia* ſoon after introduced among them. In twenty years time, the ſmalleſt interval that can be allowed between the laſt of PLAUTUS's and the firſt of *Terence*'s Plays, many alterations might be and were made for the better, in a people ſo well diſpoſed as the *Romans* then appeared to be for improvements of all kinds. Then flouriſhed *Paulus Æmilius*, whoſe noble example in the compleat education he gave his children, had a general influence among the Patricians. *Cato*'s was but a ſingle voice for baniſhing the eloquent embaſſadors of *Greece*, whoſe diſcourſes were liſtened to by the generous *Roman* youth, like that of a voice from Heaven, bidding them cultivate Philoſophy and all the pleaſing arts of peace. It was not any averſion to the Muſes that animated the Cenſor's zeal on this occaſion; he himſelf had too much learning and eloquence to be an enemy to either, and was cotemporary with our Author, and is ſaid to have ſtudied the *Greek* tongue in his old age: but as he ſuppoſed it to be a juſt obſervation, that luxury and diſſolution of manners too often attend a learned people, as the *Roman* Satiriſt obſerves of the *Greeks*,

Grammaticus,

Grammaticus, Rhetor, Geometres, Pictor, Aliptes,
Græculus eſuriens in cælum juſſeris ibit.

This made *Cato* unwilling to countenance theſe refinements. But to return to PLAUTUS and *Terence*. The latter had an undoubted advantage, when he compoſed his pieces at a Villa of *Scipio* or *Lelius*; whereas poor PLAUTUS was forced to make ſome at the Mill. But though his neceſſitous circumſtances might haſten the birth of ſome of his productions, the vivacity of the offspring argues the ſtrength of that wit that could form them ſo well notwithſtanding their haſty birth. If *Terence* were more mature and timely, he may thank the happineſs of the times at leaſt as much as his own genius for it. So *Virgil* has ſurpaſſed *Homer* in ſome reſpects, which muſt be thought owing to the ſame advantages. Yet *Homer* will ever maintain the precedency as to natural accompliſhments. The Critics obſerve, that *Terence* has imitated PLAUTUS as cloſely as ever *Virgil* did *Homer*, and it muſt be owned with the ſame good judgment and ſucceſs.

SINCE we are entered upon it, let us carry on the parallel between our two Dramatic Poets a little farther. *Plautus*'s ſentences have a peculiar ſmartneſs in them, that conveys the thought with clearneſs, and ſtrikes the imagination ſtrongly; ſo that the mind liſtens with attention and retains it with pleaſure. This makes his Dialogue more intereſting, though leſs laboured than that of *Terence*. In ſhort, *Plautus* is more gay, *Terence* more chaſte. The firſt has more genius and fire, the latter more manners and ſolidity. *Plautus* excells in low Comedy and Ridicule, *Terence* in drawing juſt characters and maintaining them to the laſt. Their plots are both artful, but *Terence*'s is more apt to languiſh, whilſt *Plautus*'s ſpirit maintains the action with vigour. His invention was greateſt, *Terence*'s art and management. *Plautus* gives the ſtronger, *Terence* a more elegant delight: *Plautus* appears the better Comedian of the two, as *Terence* the

finer Poet. The former has more compaſs and variety, the latter more regularity and truth in his characters. *Plautus* ſhone moſt on the Stage, *Terence* pleaſes beſt in the cloſet. Men of a refined taſte would prefer *Terence*. *Plautus* diverted both *Patrician* and *Plebeian*.

After this compariſon, let the reader beſtow the Lawrel where he thinks it beſt deſerved.

I ſhould now proceed to give an account of his ſeveral Plays, of the time of their being acted, how far he was a tranſlator of the *Greek* Poets, and what improvements he made from his own genius. But there are no titles at the head of his Comedies to give us any light into this matter, as we find to *Terence*'s; nor have we thoſe books of *Varro*, which being written upon *Plautus*'s works only, very probably would have ſatisfied our curioſity in theſe matters. However we may take a curſory view of his Comedies in the order they are now printed, contenting ourſelves with ſuch little hints as the Poet has himſelf afforded us in the Prologues; and taking in ſuch other helps as may be had from *Cicero* or *Gellius*.

The 1ſt is *Amphitryo*; which *Moliere*'s and *Dryden*'s imitations have made pretty well known. The *Frenchman* has done *Plautus* moſt juſtice. We do not find whether this Comedy is of *Plautus*'s invention or a tranſlation. He calls it a Tragi-Comedy, not that there is any thing tragical in the ſubject, but becauſe the principal characters are Gods and Princes. *Euripides* wrote an *Amphitryo* and *Archippus*, two Plays of this name. How far *Plautus* was beholden to them for his incidents, is uncertain.

The 2d is *Aſinaria*, the Aſs-Driver, tranſlated from the *Greek* of *Demophilus*, a writer of the Middle Comedy. *Plautus* aſſures his audience it is elegant and does not want for wit and humour.

The 3d is *Aulularia*, the Casket: *Moliere*'s Avare, and *Wicherly*'s Miſer, are copies of this Play. Whence *Plautus* has taken it, is no where ſaid; though it is pretty certain he had it, as indeed almoſt all his Plays, from the *Greek* Poets.

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The 4th is *Captivi*, the Captives. The Poet pretends to have taken particular care in writing it, both as to ſtile and ſentiments, and that the characters are uncommon.

The 5th is the Diſcovery, or *Curculio*, from the name of the Paraſite. This Play having no Prologue, we muſt paſs on to the next.

The 6th *Caſina*, the name of a female ſlave; in *Greek* it was called Κληρούμενοι, *Sortientes*, caſting Lots. The Prologue to this Comedy ſeems not to be of *Plautus*'s making, but of the principal actor, who revived it after the Poet's death. This Prologue farther obſerves, that when it was firſt brought on the ſtage, it met with great applauſe. "* This (adds he) "and the favour you have ſhewn to all *Plautus*'s Co-"medies, encouraged me to revive the *Caſina*." It is a great pity we cannot aſcertain the time of this revival of the *Caſina*; the ſooneſt we can ſuppoſe it, muſt be in *Terence*'s time, becauſe *Plautus* died

* *Qui utuntur vino vetere ſapientes puto,*
Et qui libenter veteres ſpectant Fabulas;
Antiqua opera & verba quum vobis placent
Æquum placere eſt ante veteres fabulas.
Nam nunc novæ quæ prodeunt Comœdiæ
Multo ſunt nequiores quam nummi novi.
Nos poſtquam populi rumorem intelleximus
Studioſe expetere vos Plautinas fabulas
Antiquam illius edimus Comediam,
Quam vos probaſtis, qui eſtis in ſenioribus.
Nam juniorum qui ſunt non norunt ſcio,
Verum ut cogneſcant dabimus operam ſedulo.
Hæc quum primum acta eſt vicit omnes fabulas.
Ea tempeſtate flos Poetarum fuit
Qui nunc abierunt hinc in communem locum.

Quam vos probaſtis qui eſtis in ſenioribus. This Verſe ſhews that it could not be above thirty years after the firſt acting of the Play in *Plautus's* life time, becauſe the old men, who ſate now ſpectators (ſays the Prologue) were judges of its goodneſs when they ſaw it acted before. Here we find *Plautus* declared by the Player to the whole audience the beſt Poet of his time. *Ea tempeſtate flos Poetarum fuit, qui nunc abierunt hinc in communem locum.* And the very firſt lines put an equal value on their judgment, who chuſe old wine and preſer old Plays. And another verſe obſerves, That their new Plays were worſe than their new Money.

young,

young, and was ſurvived by moſt of the Poets of his time, who are ſaid in this Prologue to have been all dead ſome time before the revival of the *Caſina*.

The 7th *Ciſtellaria*, the Basket: The Prologue of this Play comes in at the end of the firſt Act, and is the God *Auxilium*, Help. Having given an account of the ſubject as uſual, he concludes, bidding the *Romans* to overcome the *Carthaginians*, and puniſh them as they deſerved. This ſeems to prove the Play to have been acted before the end of the ſecond *Punic* War, which was in the year of *Rome* 552. This muſt therefore have been the firſt of *Plautus*'s Plays; for he died *A. U.* 570. (*Cicero in Bruto.*) ſo that he lived not above eighteen years after his writing the *Ciſtellaria*, ſuppoſing it to have been acted the eighteenth year of the *Punic* war, that is, within one year of the end of it: and as the *Romans* hardly began to have a taſte for learning 'till after this war was ended, the general ignorance of the audience when this Play was acted muſt be ſome apology for the abſurdity of this God's ſpeaking a Prologue, at a time when the Poet had no real occaſion for him; and if the audience wanted to be let into the ſubject, the common Prologue might have done as well. True, but then *Plautus* could not have made ſo handſome a compliment to his countrymen on their valour, their juſtice, *&c.* as he does in the character of the God, and at the ſame time encourage them to purſue their victories over the *Carthaginians*. This reflection turns the ſeeming abſurdity to the Poet's Honour; and as to his coming in at the cloſe of the 1ſt act, it is conſiſtent with the liberties of the Middle Comedy, which *Plautus* in his firſt pieces chiefly imitated.

The 8th, *Epidicus*, the Litigious: This was one of our Poet's favourite Comedies, as he ſays himſelf in the character of *Chryſalus*, Act 2. Scene 2. of the *Bacchides*; and by its having no introductory Prologue may be thought to have been one of the laſt.

The 9th, *Bacchides*, ſo called from two ſiſters that

that are the chief characters in it. The Comedy is not inferior to any of *Plautus*'s but has no Prologue.

The 10th, *Moſtellaria*, the Ghoſt, has been imitated by the *French* and us. *Johnſon*'s Alchymiſt is partly copied from it. This has no Prologue.

The 11th, *Menæchmi*, the Twins, has alſo been copied by writers of both nations. *Shakeſpeare*'s Comedy of Errors is in imitation of it. In the Prologue *Plautus* obſerves, That the Poets, to make their Plays ſeem to be taken from the *Greek*, choſe to lay the ſcene at *Athens*. "His ſubject is *Greek* too "(adds the Poet) but the ſubject is from *Sicily* at "*Syracuſe*, though the ſcene is at *Epidamnus*." From whence we may obſerve, that *Greek* Comedies tranſlated were moſt acceptable to the *Romans* in *Plautus*'s time, and they ſeem to have been ſo in *Terence*'s, or he would not have been at the pains to tranſlate them.

The 12th, *Miles Glorioſus*, the Bragging Captain: *Terence* has copied the character of his *Thraſo* in the Eunuch from hence. This Play is without a Prologue, and is reckoned an excellent Comedy. The character of *Periplectomenes*, an old Batchelor that helps to bubble the fooliſh Captain, is very humorous and original.

The 13th, *Mercator*, the Merchant; tranſlated from the *Greek* of *Philemon*. The Prologue is ſpoken by *Charinus*, who is the merchant, and the principal character of the Play. The reflections, which *Charinus* intermixes with the account of the ſubject, ſhew the ſenſe the Antients had of the diſadvantage of their looſe morals, which we are but too apt to imitate and encourage on our Stage, under the notion of modern gallantry. One may wonder to meet with ſo much morality in *Plautus*'s Plays, conſidering the great immorality of their principles as well as practice, and the infant ſtate of learning and philoſophy at *Rome*.

The 14th, *Pſeudolus*, the Cheat. This was a favourite Piece of *Plautus*'s, according to * *Cicero*, and

* Cato Major; ſive de Senectute.

has

has been variouſly imitated by the modern Poets. I ſhall here take occaſion to obſerve from the Prologue, that the *Roman* taſte was then ſomething like ours under King *James* I. Many of *Plautus*'s Prologues have a ſpice of falſe wit, as well as many of the characters of his ſlaves and paraſites. But the Prologue to this Comedy gives no account of the ſubject, and is only addreſſed to the audience to recommend the Play to their favour. In order to ſucceed, the Poet runs on for a dozen lines together in a ſtrain of quibbling upon the words *bonus* and *malus:* After this follow ſome ſix or ſeven lines extreamly witty upon full bellies and empty ſtomachs. I think it muſt be granted our Poet had ſenſe enough not to trifle ſo ſtrangely, without knowing it was ſuitable to the general taſte of the People; though *Plautus* certainly wrote too faſt to write always correctly, or think of mending the public taſte: And his avarice might be the great inducement of his writing perhaps more than fame. This is the opinion of *Horace:*

——— *Aſpice Plautus*
Quo pacto partes tutetur amantis Ephebi,
Ut patris attenti lenonis ut inſidioſi,
Quantus ſit Dorſennus edacibus in paraſitis;
Quam non aſtricto percurrat pulpita ſocco.
Geſtit enim nummum in loculos demittere, poſt hoc
Securus cadat an recto ſtet fabula talo.

Epiſt. 1. Lib. 2. ver. 170.

Therefore our Poet ſeems to have had his preſent intereſt more than his future reputation in view; he little regarded what after ages might think fit to cenſure, when the general taſte ſhould be altered. That we find *Terence* ſo free from this low humour, ſo far beyond his cotemporaries, and indeed moſt that came after him, I think we may very juſtly attribute to the excellent education his noble Patron gave him, and the happy familiarity he contracted with thoſe great men who were ſuſpected to have ſo much aſſiſted him in his writings. On the other hand, *Plautus*'s birth

and education were, it is likely, very mean; and nothing but great ſtrength of natural genius could have attained the elegance he was maſter of. Add to this, that we cannot ſay whether this ſame vein of low wit did not prevail in thoſe *Greek* Poets, whom he tranſlated. *Terence* had this farther advantage, that he formed himſelf upon *Menander*, whereas *Plautus* chiefly followed the Poets of the Middle Comedy, whoſe manner was reckoned much inferior to *Menander*'s, whom even *Terence* is ſaid to have but imitated by halves.

The 15th is *Pœnulus*, the *Carthaginian*: In his Prologue *Plautus* calls it *the Uncle*. The *Greek* name was Καρχηδόνιος; the Poet from whom it was tranſlated is not named. The remains of the *Punic* language, that have been corruptly preſerved in the copies of this Play, have found good work for the Critics to reſtore them to the true reading, and are eſteemed a very curious Piece of Antiquity. From the Plot of this Play we have this farther hint, that the Children of the *Carthaginians* were often ſtolen from their Parents, and carried away and ſold for ſlaves in other Countries. Hiſtory ſpeaks of the *Numidians*, as a people who lived by continual depredations of this kind; and in this manner we may probably ſuppoſe *Terence* to have been ſtolen when a child from *Carthage*, and ſold to *Terentius* the *Roman* Senator.

The 16th is *Perſa*, the name of a ſlave in the Play; here is no Prologue to ſhew from whence this Comedy was tranſlated.

The 17th is *Rudens*, the *Cable*, but might more properly be called the *Happy Shipwreck*. This Comedy is tranſlated from the *Greek* of *Diphilus*, as the Prologue informs us, which is ſpoken by the God or Conſtellation *Arcturus*; whoſe heliacal riſing and ſetting the Antients reckoned ſtormy.

The 18th *Stichus*, a ſlave's name in the Play. Or from the ſubject, this Comedy may be called the *Triumphs of Conjugal Love*. Here is no Prologue.

The 19th *Trinummus*, the *Hidden Treaſure*; the Prologue

Prologue is ſpoken in the characters of Luxury and Penury, who come to take poſſeſſion of the extravagant young man's houſe, who prodigally ſquanders away all his father had left him during his abſence. This Comedy is tranſlated from *Philemon* the *Greek* comic and elegiac Poet.

THE 20th and laſt is *Truculentus*, the *Churl*. This is one of thoſe Plays for which, according to *Cicero*, *Plautus* expreſſed the moſt value. The ſhort Prologue to it, gives no account from whence *Plautus* took it, though it is clear enough, that as they are all *Greek* ſubjects, he tranſlated this as well as the reſt, from the *Greek* comic Poets.

HAVING thus taken a brief and general view of *Plautus*'s Plays, as far as his own Works could direct us, we ſhould now enter into Particulars, and examine the Plot and conduct of his Drama in ſome one of his Comedies; and then ſet it as it were in parallel with one of *Terence*'s, thereby to enable the Reader to form a judgment of their Abilities in this moſt eſſential part of Dramatic Poetry. Though we are not ſo well able to judge of *Plautus*'s or *Terence*'s diligence or neglect in this reſpect, ſince we have not the *Greek* Plays extant that they tranſlated, and ſo not knowing what they took from, or what they altered in them, we can but imperfectly determine whether they altered with more or leſs judgment in this reſpect. Yet, notwithſtanding this impediment, it is hoped the following Examination may be of ſome Uſe and Entertainment.

Examination of the Aſinaria *of* PLAUTUS.

MY reaſon for chooſing this Comedy, is not becauſe I think it one of the beſt, ſince it is rather the contrary: But if the Drama is regularly executed, and the Incidents well prepared, the Reader that is not at leiſure to examine the reſt, may fairly preſume they do not fall ſhort of it, particularly ſuch, as by the foregoing enquiry appear to have been much eſteemed by the Antients, and moſt of them

them imitated by the Moderns. Such are *Amphitryo*, *Aulularia*, *Captivi*, *Caſina*, *Epidicus*, *Bacchides*, *Moſtellaria*, *Menæchmi*, *Miles Glorioſus*, and *Rudens*.

The Critics generally agree, that a Dramatic Poem, in order to ſucceed, muſt have one ſimple continued Action, the Time not to exceed twelve hours; that the Incidents be well prepared and ſpring from the ſubject. That the Dramatis Perſonæ ſhould always have a neceſſary or probable pretence for being on the Stage, and the ſame for going off: That the Intervals between the Acts be filled, as ſerving to carry on the Action, and continue it, as much as what is done on the Stage. That the Cataſtrophe ariſe from all the Incidents together, and entirely ſatisfy the curioſity of the ſpectators. Laſtly, The Poet muſt obſerve unity of Place, that is, that the Scene muſt not be ſhifted nor changed throughout the Play.

It is allowed, *Plautus* has not been ſo ſcrupulouſly exact as never to tranſgreſs any of theſe Rules. But Madam *Dacier* has proved, that the Poet has obſerved them all in *Amphitryo*, *Epidicus*, and *Rudens*. It would be no hard matter to ſhew the ſame of ſome of the reſt. But to begin with the Examination of the *Aſinaria*. The ſubject is the trick put upon a man that dealt in Apes, to get the money he brought in payment for ſome he had bought, to employ it in ſupplying the pleaſures of a wild young fellow. The Incidents are the excluſion of this young fellow from his miſtreſs's houſe, for want of money; his father's loving the ſame woman: the troubleſome and imperious temper of his mother, who on account of the great fortune ſhe brought, governs the whole houſe: the abſence of her principal ſlave to whom the money was due, which the dealer in Aſſes brought; and laſtly, the mortification of a rival, who at laſt diſcovers the cheat.

The Time does not exceed eight hours; beginning but a little before noon, to give the dealer time to come from the Country; and it ends before night, for it is ſaid, (Sc. 2. Act 4.) that the Entertainment,

in

in which the Cataſtrophe happens, is to be given by day-light. The Place muſt be ſuppoſed an open Place near the old man's and the curtezan's houſes, with this difference, that the latter ſhould be fronting, and at the lower end of the ſtage. I muſt begin by obſerving, that the moral of this and ſome other of *Plautus*'s Comedies is abominable, though the ſubject of many of our *Engliſh* Comedies that are much eſteemed, reſemble it too much. Perhaps the ignorance of the Antients may deſerve our pity, but what excuſe can we plead for the Immorality of our Stage?

Act 1. *Sc.* 1. opens with *Demenetus*, the old Gentleman and his ſervant *Libanus*. They may be ſuppoſed to have been talking together before they came on the Stage. The man is uneaſy, and fears his maſter is going to ſend him to work in the mill, perhaps for ſome fault he had done, which makes him very earneſt to find out what the old Gentleman would be at; at laſt *Demenetus* rids *Libanus* of his fears, by telling him he knows his ſon's Intrigues, and inſtead of blaming him, is willing to promote them. To hide his own ſcandalous deſign, he pretends the fondneſs of a father, is the reaſon of this complaiſance. Having thus ſecured *Libanus*, and given him leave to get the money his ſon wanted, where he could, they ſeparate.

Sc. 2. *Argyrippus*, the old man's ſon, who was forbid the Curtezan's houſe for want of money, comes on the Stage lamenting his misfortune. He complains bitterly of the old Baud her mother, and of the Curtezan, and reſolves to be revenged. But love ſoon helps him to excuſes for the daughter, ſo that he is determined to wreck his whole vengeance on the Mother. As he is in this reſolution, he ſees the Baud coming out of her houſe, and reſolves to ſpeak to her.

Sc. 3. Their Converſation ſhews the pernicious maxims of thoſe creatures. It ends by making up the quarrel, upon condition, that for a ſum of money *Argyrippus* ſhall have the Curtezan to himſelf for a year. Upon this, *Argyrippus* goes to get the money

on

on any terms; and this makes the Interval between the firſt and ſecond Act. Beſides, *Libanus*, inſtead of ſeeking for the money, as he was ordered, had fallen aſleep; and the dealer in Aſſes comes and enquires for *Demenetus*, but not finding him, goes to the public Baths, waiting for his return.

Act 2. *Sc.* 1. *Libanus* opens the ſcene; waking in a ſurprize, he recollects what he had to do: Whilſt he is preparing to undertake it, he ſees *Leonida*, another ſervant of the family coming in a hurry, and almoſt out of breath: he ſteps a little aſide, not to be diſcovered by the other who advances.

Sc. 2. After having told the reaſon of his coming, *Libanus* appears. *Leonida* informs him, that the dealer was arrived, who brought the money in payment for the Aſſes. How the man asked him which was the maſter's houſe; that he had made the dealer believe he was the Baily, to whom he was to pay the money, but that the other would not give into the bite: Whilſt theſe two ſervants are conſulting how to trick him, they ſee the man coming. *Leonida*, to make ſure work, runs to give his maſter *Demenetus* notice of it, and *Libanus* comes forward to give the man no room to miſtruſt any thing.

Sc. 3. The dealer opens the Scene, and knocks at *Demenetus*'s door. *Libanus* comes and amuſes him 'till *Leonida* appears, who counterfeiting *Saurea*, th principal ſlave, who had authority over the other ſlaves, and this begins the 4th Scene.

Sc. 4. *Leonida* coming up to *Libanus*, begins to reprimand him for having neglected to obey ſome orders he pretends to have given him, without ſeeming to take any notice of the dealer. After having made ſport in this manner a while, he makes as if he juſt perceived the dealer in Aſſes, and asks his buſineſs. Being informed, it was to pay the price of ſome Aſſes that had been ſold him, *Leonida* tells the man he may pay him. The other refuſes it, ſaying, he does not know him, and that he will not pay him without *Demenetus*'s order. Thus ends the ſecond Act. During

ring the Interval they find *Demenetus*, by whoſe direction the man pays *Leonida* the money.

Act 3. *Sc.* 1. *Cleareta*, and *Philenium*, her daughter, begin this Act; the mother reproaches her daughter for having ſo little regard to her inſtructions. And ſhe, who really loves *Argyrippus*, cannot reſolve to refuſe to ſee him, as her mother would have her do, becauſe he has got no money. Their converſation makes the firſt ſcene. The ſecond (*Sc.* 2.) is made by *Leonida* and *Libanus*, who make themſelves merry with the account they give of their bubbling the dealer in Aſſes of his money. Whilſt they are in the height of their joy, they perceive *Argyrippus* juſt coming out of his miſtreſs's houſe with her, and both in tears. They liſten ſome time to learn the cauſe of their ſorrow, and after having been witneſſes to their mutual tenderneſs at parting, they come up to them (*Sc.* 3.) to give *Argyrippus* the good news of their having got him the money he wanted. But the rogues fool with him for a while before they give him the money. At length they give it him, upon condition that his father ſhall be in company with *Philenium* that night. And thus ends the 3d Scene and 3d Act. The Interval is filled up by *Leonida*, who is ſent by *Argyrippus* to invite his father to ſup with him and his miſtreſs.

Act 4. *Scene* 1. The 4th Act opens with *Diabolus* *Argyrippus*'s rival, and a Paraſite with him. *Diabolus*, to improve the opportunity of his rival's diſgrace, had agreed with *Cleareta* for a certain ſum, to have her daughter a year, on certain conditions drawn up in writing. He had given the Paraſite this commiſſion, who is now come, and reads him the Articles, which *Diabolus* approves, and they go out together to make the mother ſign them. Here ſeems to be a Scene wanting, for *Diabolus* returns (*Scene* 2.) immediately with the Paraſite, in a great fury againſt *Demenetus* and his ſon, though he does not ſeem to have had time to be informed how *Argyrippus* had made up his affairs with his miſtreſs. However, he threatens to go

and

and give *Demenetus*'s wife notice of his ſcandalous conduct, but the Paraſite perſuades him to let him go on that errand. Thus ends the 4th Act.

The Interval is filled up by the Paraſite's giving *Artemona* notice of her husband's management, and her getting ready to go and ſurprize *Demenetus* with her ſon *Argyrippus* and *Philenium*.

Act 5. *Scene* 1. The Scene opens and repreſents the three laſt named perſons at the bottom of the Stage, juſt going to ſupper, and in the height of joy. But, unluckily for them, the Paraſite brings in *Artemona*, who ſtands a little aſide to obſerve her husband. *Sc.* 2. At laſt, ſhe comes in tranſported with anger, and having called him all to naught, ſoon obliges him to quit the company, and go off the Stage. Then the Actors, when the Play is ended, come forward together, and laugh with the audience at what had paſſed, which they are far from diſapproving. Nothing can be more immoral than this concluſion. But indeed, the heathens, in their practice eſpecially, had little regard to chaſtity, where their leudneſs did not diſturb the public peace. Fornication of all kinds, unleſs with citizens, was publicly tolerated, and that in the moſt infamous degree, as we ſee from the example before us. But that it would be wrong to argue from theſe abuſes of the ſtage againſt all dramatic entertainments in general, has been already ſhewn.

As for *Terence*'s Plays, they are generally ſo well known, that a ſhorter examination of the *Andrian* (which I chooſe as moſt regular in the Drama) will be ſufficient, without dwelling upon the minute incidents of every ſcene, as we did in *Plautus*'s *Aſinaria*, becauſe it is leſs known and read. *Donatus*, and the old critics, were content to divide the whole Play into three parts, which they called *Protaſis*, *Epitaſis*, and *Cataſtrophe*, and thus explain.

Protaſis, is the firſt Act, the beginning or opening of the Play.

Epitaſis, is the progreſs, and as it were the whole proceſs of the various errors and perplexities of the ſubject as it is carrying on. *Cataſtrophe*,

Cataſtrophe, is the turn, the unravelling and clearing up of all difficulties, by a thorough diſcovery, which concludes the Play.

(*Protaſis.*) *Pamphilus* was in love with *Glycerium*, who was ſuppoſed to be a ſtranger at *Athens* where the ſcene lies, and ſiſter to *Chryſis* a Curtezan of *Andros*, but lately deceaſed at *Athens*. He had given *Glycerium* his word that he would marry her, and the intrigue was gone ſo far between them, that ſhe was with child by him. *Simo* being informed of his ſon's paſſion for this ſtranger, in order to break off the engagement, pretends a deſign of marrying him ſpeedily, and deſires he would ſhew his obedience by accepting of the wife he would chooſe for him. *Pamphilus*, who ſincerely honoured his father, and paſſionately loved *Glycerium*, was in the greateſt diſtreſs how to behave on this occaſion. His ſlave *Davus*, who had overheard the old gentleman's ſham plot, adviſes his young maſter to promiſe his father an entire obedience, from whence he could apprehend no danger, ſince it was only a counterfeit marriage. The lover, though with ſome reluctance, is perſuaded to do ſo, and promiſes to marry the perſon his father ſhould pleaſe to chooſe him.

(*Epitaſis.*) In the mean time this marriage of *Pamphilus* began to be talked of abroad, ſo that *Glycerium* came to hear of it, and through the violence of her grief at the news, being near her time, falls in labour, and is delivered of a boy. *Simo*, now he had got his Son's conſent, which was above his expectation, began ſeriouſly to think of marrying him in earneſt; and accordingly breaks the matter to his friend *Chremes*, who readily accepts the propoſal of marrying his daughter *Philumena* to *Pamphilus*. The lovers affairs now ſeemed deſperate; he had conſented, and his father was for haſtening the wedding. Upon this, *Davus*, whoſe indiſcreet zeal had brought his maſter into theſe perplexities, endeavours to deter *Chremes* from the marriage, giving him to underſtand that *Pamphilus* was in love already with another perſon,

perſon, by whom he had a ſon, which was true. This ſtratagem partly ſucceeds and makes *Chremes* heſitate. (*Cataſtrophe.*) But *Simo* ſo earneſtly preſſes him to give his daughter, that at laſt all his ſcruples are removed, and *Pamphilus* finds himſelf as much embaraſſed as before, when luckily *Crito*, a ſtranger of *Andros*, comes to *Athens*, as being next heir to *Chryſis* the Curtezan lately deceaſed, the reputed ſiſter of *Glycerium*. *Simo* at firſt ſuppoſes him ſuborned by his ſon to interrupt the marriage; but at length *Crito* diſcovers to *Chremes* and him, that *Glycerium* was not related to *Chryſis*, but really a daughter of *Chremes*, whom he had for many years looked upon as loſt. *Philumena* is married to her firſt lover *Charinus*, whoſe character is a foil to the merit of his friend *Pamphilus*, as the dullneſs of his man *Byrrhia* ſets off *Davus*'s ſubtlety and contrivances.

By this ſketch the Reader will be inclined to judge, that the turn of Plautus's Plays is more to ridicule and humour, as that of *Terence*'s is to politeneſs, and to move the affections: and whoever could happily unite the genius of theſe two, would be able to write a compleat Comedy; which, as being concerned to repreſent the paſſages of common life, has, by a wrong and haſty judgment, often been preſumed to be an eaſy task for a Poet of common abilities. But *Horace* was long ſince of another opinion, for the ſame reaſon that perſons of leſs reflection judged it ſo eaſy, namely, becauſe it is only converſant with the occurrences of common life; for this not only makes it much eaſier for the generality to judge if a character is well expreſſed, if the dialogue is natural and well turned, and the plot well laid and happily executed; but makes every perſon expect to find more perfection in the whole performance than is generally in the power of moſt writers to give it. From this great miſtake of ours, we are as liberal of our cenſure as ſparing of applauſe, and condemn every error, which we think might have been mended with ſo little trouble to the Poet.

Creditur, ex medio quia res arceſſit, habere
Sudoris minimum; ſed habet Comedia tanto
Plus oneris, quanto veniæ minus———
Epiſt. ad AUGUST. ver. 168.

THE LIFE OF *TERENCE.*

TERENCE was born in the year of *Rome* 560, about nine years before the death of *Plautus*, eight years after the end of the ſecond Punic war, when learning began to flouriſh among the *Romans*. They had now ſubdued though not deſtroyed *Carthage*, and by the overthrow of the *Macedonian* Kingdom had partly conquered *Greece*. This was the ſtate of affairs about the time of TERENCE's captivity: ſo that the politer arts and ſciences began to meet with encouragement, and *Paulus Æmilius*, who was a friend to them, ſet a noble example to the other Patricians by the liberal education he gave his children, which *Plutarch* particularly mentions in his life.

WHETHER TERENCE was of mean or noble parentage, whether an *African* in general, or a *Carthaginian*, is uncertain; though it ſeems more likely

he might be a *Carthaginian* of a good family, and made captive in the wars the *Carthaginians* continually had with the *Numidians* and other neighbouring nations. The *Romans* ſent their deputies at three different times to compoſe theſe differences between the *Numidians*, and *Carthaginians*; at one of which it is moſt likely ſome of them might purchaſe our Author among the other ſlaves that were ſold. He fell into the hands of a generous maſter, *Terentius Lucanus*, a *Roman* Senator, who was ſo taken with the early marks he diſcovered in his young ſlave of a bright genius, that he gave him the advantage of a good education to improve it; and ſoon after, by giving him his liberty, put him in a way of raiſing his fortune by it.

His merit ſoon recommended him to the acquaintance and familiarity of the chief Nobility; and particularly to the friendſhip of *Scipio Æmilianus*, ſon of the aforeſaid *P. Æmilius*, and adopted by the ſon of the elder *Scipio Africanus*. This nobleman was about nine years younger than our Author, but he had bravely diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the wars at ſeventeen years of age, and we have already obſerved above, how well his father brought him up. He was the hero of the Age, and compleated the deſtruction of *Carthage* ſome years after *Terence*'s death. *Lælius*, ſon of the great *Lælius*, ſo intimate with the elder *Africanus*, was as intimate with the younger *Scipio* and our Author; whoſe enemies were glad to give out that his Plays were compoſed by theſe noblemen, in order to leſſen his growing credit. *Furius* was another of Terence's Patrons, but his merit is leſs known; though he is mentioned by Terence's enemies as one of the greateſt men in *Rome*. In his Prologue to the *Adelphi*, Terence does not ſo much as offer to refute the calumny; but *Suetonius* obſerves it was done to pay his court to thoſe great men, who perhaps might not be diſpleaſed at the report; and indeed in the Prologue to the *Heautontimorumenos*, Terence deſired the audience not

to credit the ſlanderous reports of his brother writers:

Ne plus iniquûm poſſit, quàm æquûm, oratio.

Suetonius adds a ſtory of *Cornelius Nepos* to this purpoſe. "That the 1ſt of *March*, which was the "feaſt of the *Roman* Ladies, *Lælius* being deſired by "his wife to ſup a little ſooner than ordinary, he "prayed her not to diſturb him; and that coming "very late to ſupper that night, he ſaid he had never "compoſed any thing with more pleaſure nor ſuc-"ceſs; and being asked by the company what it "was, he repeated ſome verſes out of the 3d Scene "of the 4th Act of *the Self-Tormentor*." All Commentators are agreed, that theſe verſes are extremely fine. This report did not leſſen after our Author's death; for *Valgius*, a Poet cotemporary with *Horace*, ſays as much in poſitive terms;

Hæ, quæ vocantur Fabulæ, cujus ſunt?
Non has, qui jura populis, recenſens dabat
Honore ſummo affectus fecit Fabulas?

The Plays however were certainly Terence's; not but that thoſe Gentlemen might be diverted ſometimes by compoſing ſome Scenes for a Poet, whom they ſo familiarly converſed with.

The *Andrian* does not ſeem to have been Terence's firſt Piece; the very Prologue to the Play ſeems to intimate the contrary, and the circumſtances *Suetonius* mentions about Terence's reading it firſt to the Poet *Cæcilius*, prove the *Andrian* not to be the firſt Piece, and that *Suetonius* has miſtaken the name of the Play; for *Cæcilius* died two years before the *Andrian* was brought on the Stage. *Voſſius* therefore pretends to correct the words of *Suetonius*, and inſtead of *Cæcilius* reads *Acilius*, who was one of the Ædiles: but there is no likelihood of this, it being abſurd to ſuppoſe the Ædiles would take the trouble to examine a Play privately firſt, ſince they had it always acted before them, before it was brought on the ſtage. *Cæcilius* was the beſt Poet of the Age, and

and *Sedegitus* has given him the preference to all the comic Poets. *Horace* makes him excel in the dignity of his ſentiments, and *Varro* in the diſpoſition of his ſubject. He was near fourſcore when our Poet offered his firſt Play; and being unacquainted with Terence, it is ſaid, that when he waited on him by the Ædiles order, who had deſired to have *Cæcilius*'s judgment before he received the Play, the old Gentleman being at table, bid our young Author take a ſtool and begin to read it to him. It is obſerved by *Suetonius*, that Terence's dreſs was but mean, ſo that his outſide did not much recommend him. But he had not gone through the firſt Scene, when *Cæcilius* invited him to ſit at table with him, deferring the reading of the reſt of the Play 'till after ſupper. This was a proof of Terence's merit, and *Cæcilius*'s good diſcernment and generoſity. When he had heard the Play read throughout, he was charmed with the beauties of it, and commended the Author as he deſerved. With this advantage and approbation did Terence's firſt Play appear on the ſtage, when Terence could not be twenty five; for the *Andrian* was acted when he was but twenty ſeven years of age, 166 years before Chriſt. The *Hecyra* was acted the year following; the Self-Tormentor, *Heautontimorumenos*, two years after that: The *Eunuch*, two years after the other: The *Phormio*, the latter end of the ſame year; and the year afterwards the *Adelphi* or Brothers was acted, before Chriſt 160, when Terence was thirty three years of age.

After this *Terence* went into *Greece*, where he ſtaid about a year, in order as it is thought to collect ſome of *Menander*'s Plays. He fell ſick on his return from thence, and died at ſea according to ſome, others ſay it was at *Stymphalis* a Town in *Arcadia*, whither he put back from ſea, before he was quite thirty five years of age.

According to this account we cannot have loſt above one or two of *Terence*'s Plays: for it is ridiculous to credit what *Suetonius* reports from one *Conſentius*, an antient Author, of whom we find no men-

tion elſewhere, That *Terence* was returning with above an hundred of *Menander*'s Plays, which he had tranſlated, but that he loſt them by ſhipwreck, and that he died of grief for this loſs.

Terence was of a middle Size, very ſlender, and of a dark complection. He was married and left a daughter behind him, who was afterwards married to a *Roman* Knight. *Terence* left her a houſe and gardens on the *Appian* Way, near the Villa *Martis*. So that it ſeems very ſtrange his enemies ſhould give out that he died very poor. The friendſhip of thoſe great Men he ſo much converſed with muſt have procured him ſome advantages. He received 8000 Seſterces for his *Eunuch* the firſt time it was acted; and was no doubt well paid for the reſt: for it appears from the Prologue to the *Hecyra* or Step-mother, that the Poets uſed to be paid every time their Play was acted, and that the *Ædiles* employed the principal Actor or Head of the Company to agree with the Author about the price. At this rate *Terence* muſt have made a handſome fortune before he died; for moſt of his Plays were acted more than once in his life time. The *Hecyra* we have been ſpeaking of was brought twice upon the Stage and interrupted, ſo that not above one Act had been repreſented. The Poet here ſuffered in his reputation, but his purſe was the better for it, as he ſays himſelf in the firſt Prologue, and in the ſecond Prologue, ſpoken when it was brought the third time on the Stage; *Ambivius Turpio*, after having in a handſom manner requeſted the Attention of the Audience, deſires for his ſake they would hear the Play out; hinting as if he were ready to re-imburſe the Magiſtrate the money he had paid the Poet, in caſe the Piece did not take; which ſeems reaſonable, ſince the Ædiles purchaſed it on his judgment, and at a price agreed on between the Poet and him the chief Actor. The *Eunuch* was acted twice in one day.

We are now come to conſider him more particularly with reſpect to his Plays that are extant, and his Character as a Dramatic Writer. It were endleſs to mention

mention the Teſtimonies of the antients in his favour, or the many fine things ſaid of him by modern Commentators and Critics. His chief excellency conſiſts in theſe three points: The Beauty of his Characters, the Politeneſs of his Dialogue, and the Regularity of his Scene. I ſhall not inſiſt on a particular Compariſon between him and *Plautus*, which we have done already in the Life of that Poet. The firſt thing wherein he ſurpaſſes all other comic Poets without exception, is the Beauty of his Characters; in which *Plautus* has often groſly failed. In *Terence*, the Characters are maintained throughout the whole Play. *Varro* himſelf gives the palm to our Author for the Manners. *In Argumentis Cæcilius poſcit Palmam, in Etheſin Terentius.* A general Knowledge of the world is not ſufficient to attain this excellency. You muſt know all the ſecret Springs that move the Soul, and find out the progreſs of every incident in affecting the Mind. It is objected, that *Terence* could not expreſs the paſſions ſtrongly: But it was not his Buſineſs; and Comedy is the more difficult on that account, as requiring a greater experience of the Humours and Inclinations of Men.

The Manners, according to *Ariſtotle*, may be expreſſed theſe three ways; either by deſcribing men as they are, or making them worſe, or better. The former, as leaving leaſt to fancy, ſeems moſt difficult, and more ſuitable to good Comedy. Tragedy makes men better or worſe than they commonly are, as well as Epic Poetry. Panegyrick makes them always better, and Satire worſe.

Terence reigns without a Rival in this particular, that his Characters are all extremely natural; you hardly ſee a thought or humour ſtrained through the Play; and hereby he ſubmits himſelf, as it were, to the Judgment of every reader in every age. Where Ridicule is too much affected you cannot follow Nature ſo well; you will always compoſe an abſurd Character out of ſeveral real ones in Life. Such a Character then is a creature of the fancy, and cannot be ſo truly en-

tertaining, nor ſo improving, though by being more ridiculous it will be more diverting for a while than one drawn after Nature. This makes the grand difference between *Plautus* and *Terence*, and indeed between the Middle and New Comedy of the *Greeks*.

As to the Diſpoſition of a Play, in which *Terence* is thought not to excell, I know nothing more perfect in that Kind than the *Andrian*. But this does not ſeem to be ſo ſtrictly neceſſary in Comedy as Tragedy, and therefore more excuſable. As in a picture, you will often excuſe ſome fault in the Diſpoſition of the whole deſign, provided all the parts are well executed, and every particular figure well drawn.

But *Terence* is ſo far from being faulty in this reſpect, that I think this Regularity of the Characters in *Terence* gives him another advantage over writers of *Plautus*'s genius. Wit and Humour pleaſe the mind as diſtinct from the heart or affections; but every character in *Terence* intereſts the reader, and ſtirs his affections. *Terence* firſt moves and then pleaſes you. You feel all *Pamphilus*'s Concern in the *Andrian*, find all his reflections juſt, and pity his perplexity. *Simo*'s narration in the firſt ſcene of this Play is inimitable; and a careful reading of that alone will give the intelligent reader a more laſting pleaſure than the merrieſt Scene in *Plautus*; juſt as a fine piece of painting, after a good examination, muſt pleaſe more than the beſt Groteſque Piece can; though it will not ſo immediately ſtrike a vulgar eye, nor tickle the fancy ſo much. Not but that I muſt do *Plautus* that Juſtice to allow that he has often very fine Scenes of a more ſerious kind; but after all, his chief Talent was Ridicule, and *Terence*'s the Propriety of the Manners.

In his Sentences again, *Plautus* is either too Philoſophical or Proverbial. *Terence* is prodigiouſly cautious in this reſpect, and ſuits them ſo well to his ſubject by the politeneſs of his Language, that they always ſeem to riſe from the preſent occaſion on which they are ſpoken, and not to have been ſought for by the Poet.

No

No Comic Writer can be more ſcrupulouſly exact than he is, in obſerving the proper Decorum of the ſtage. The characters of his Dramatis Perſonæ are never, as in *Plautus*, and other antients, confounded with that of the Actor. While *Plautus* introduces a tedious prologue in the character of *Mercury*, to let you into the whole ſecret of the play, *Terence* moſt artfully introduces old *Simo* in the *Andrian* deliberating with his Freed-man *Soſia* how to manage *Pamphilus*, whoſe Amour with *Glycerium*, the Manner of his diſcovering it, and the other previous Circumſtances neceſſary to lead the reader into the deſign of the play, are there ſo delicately introduced and ſo clearly related, that one would never ſuſpect *Terence* intended that firſt ſcene only to inform the Audience as far as was requiſite to make them underſtand the ſequel. That other Scene again, where *Pamphilus*, to aſſure *Myſis* that he will not forſake her Miſtreſs, calls to mind the ſolemn Promiſe he made *Chryſis* on her Death-bed to be as a father, guardian, and husband to his beloved *Glycerium*; that ſcene I ſay is conducted with ſuch Addreſs, that it is not 'till after ſome reflection that we diſcover the Poet's art in taking this opportunity of giving the audience, who now began to grow uneaſy, and miſtruſt his Fidelity, the fulleſt aſſurance to the contrary.

These are ſome of the maſterly Strokes by which our Author exerts his Talent in the conduct of the Drama. We may find numberleſs Inſtances of this kind in every Play of his, wherein he did not content himſelf only to follow *Menander*, but often conſulted his own genius. For he frequently made two plays of *Menander*'s into one; moulding them together into one compleat Comedy. Finding the incidents too few in *Menander*'s Plays which he imitated, he thought it neceſſary to fill the ſcene with more characters, which obliged him ſometimes to make two into one. Some Writers jealous of his growing fame, highly blamed his conduct herein. *Terence*, in his prologue to the *Andrian*, pleads guilty to the charge; and juſtifies what he had done by the neceſſity of it, to give the

audience a compleat Entertainment; and by the example of the beſt poets that had preceded him.

The beſt modern Writers for the ſtage, I think are agreed in the Uſefulneſs, if not neceſſity of an under plot, ſo that I need ſay nothing in defence or commendation of our author's practice in this particular. So to the *Eunuch*, a plot of *Terence*'s own invention, he has boldly and judiciouſly added the characters of the captain and paraſite, from the *Colax*, a Play of *Menander*'s. Without this under-plot, which is admirably interwoven with the other, every attentive reader muſt perceive the play would have been barren of incidents, which is now the moſt admired of the ſix, though perhaps, each has its ſeveral excellencies. *Terence* has perfectly juſtified himſelf in the Prologue, where he owns the fact as uſual. "But (ſays he) if an author may never borrow a "character of thoſe who have writ before him, and "adapt it to his purpoſe, he may as well never write, "ſince it would be difficult to find out any character "that had not been brought on the ſtage before.

Nullum eſt jam dictum, quod non ſit dictum prius.

I can't help taking notice of an odd circumſtance, that ſhews the great Liberty every private man took in thoſe publick entertainments. *Lavinius*, whom *Terence* has deſcribed as a dull poet, and a ſervile tranſlator of the *Greeks*, when the *Ædile* having bought the play, had ordered it to be acted, and had admitted this poet as a ſpectator, he bawled out in the height of the repreſentation, That *Terence* was a plagiary, and had ſtolen from others the two characters aforeſaid. What I would obſerve is, that this inſolence, though the Magiſtrates, who had given the play themſelves, preſided at the Theatre, is no farther taken notice of in *Terence*'s prologue, than as an abſurd piece of ill-nature in *Lavinius*; nor does *Terence* ſay that the Ædiles thought fit to puniſh or reprimand him for it, which he would not have failed to do, if they had, in a prologue that was ſpoken on purpoſe to expoſe his adverſary's and juſtify his own Conduct to the Public. I ſhall not juſtify ſuch a ſufferance of ſo public a breach of good manners

ners, but muſt, at the ſame time, remind the reader, if he be cenſoriouſly diſpoſed, to conſider how frequently the Action has been interrupted in our Theatres by the inſolence and riot of the meaneſt of the audience, when perſons of the firſt diſtinction, or the ſovereign himſelf have been preſent.

Terence continued his former method in compoſing the *Heautontimorumenos*, or *Self-Tormentor*. He therein had an Eye to one of *Menander*'s of the ſame name, but ſupplied the barenneſs of the plot, by doubling the characters; introducing, inſtead of one of each, two old fellows, two young men, two miſtreſſes, and two ſlaves. *Menander*'s whole play conſiſted in *Menedemus*'s tormenting himſelf for his ſon's abſence, whom he had forced to go into the army, by his ſeverity in not allowing him the common freedoms of the young fellows of his age. A play with no other incidents but what related to *Menedemus* and his ſon, *Terence* rightly judged would be too barren of entertainment, and has accordingly given it a new life by the addition of ſo many characters co-incident with the main plot.

A Paſſage in this Prologue gives me occaſion to mention another diſtinction the *Romans* made of their Comedies, into *Stataria*, *Motoria*, and *Mixta*. The firſt was like the *Self-Tormentor*, with few changes of the Scene. The ſecond, like the *Amphytrio* of *Plautus*, had many changes, and was full of Action. The laſt was, like the *Eunuch*, a mixture of theſe two.

The *Adelphi*, or *Brothers*, *Terence* compoſed much after the ſame method as he had obſerved in the *Heautontimorumenos*. To enliven this Play, he tranſlated from a Play of *Diphilus*, a *Greek* comic Poet, the Characters of a young fellow taking a Curtezan by violence from a merchant of ſlaves. It is eaſy to ſee how many incidents ariſe from this one through the Play, and what a fine opportunity the Poet has hence taken to thicken his Plot, and diſplay the contrary Characters of the two old Men the Brothers, by their behaviour on this occaſion. But I have only room to ſuggeſt this hint to the Reader's notice, to

do more would be to deprive him of the pleaſure of the ſearch and the ſatisfaction of the diſcovery.

The ſame detracting old Poet, continued to reproach *Terence* with his being aſſiſted by Perſons of the firſt Quality in compoſing his Plays. One would have thought our Author had here a fine opportunity of retorting upon his adverſary, and ſhewing his inconſiſtency, firſt, in ſaying that perſons of the greateſt genius had a hand in his Pieces, and then blaming them as faulty, or ſtolen from others. But *Terence* knew how to keep his temper, and politely appeals to the audience, whether ſuch a reproach muſt not rather turn to his praiſe, that perſons ſo diſtinguiſhed by their birth and actions, both at home and abroad, ſhould condeſcend to bear a part with him in compoſing, and treat a man of his low condition with that intimacy and friendſhip.

Terence has left us no account of his manner of compoſing his *Phormio* and *Hecyra*. They are both imitated from the *Greeks*, and if he had found it neceſſary, he would have added ſome new Characters, as his practice was, and he had declared in the Prologue to the *Brothers*, that he intended to do.

Why he ſhould always chooſe to imitate the *Greeks*, rather than ſometimes lay the Scene at *Rome*, and compoſe what the *Romans* called *Togatæ Fabulæ*, I ſhall not pretend to determine. Perhaps his genius was not ſo good at invention as improvement. This is known to be true, not only of particular men, but whole nations, of which I dare name ours as a pregnant example. Though many other nations claim precedency for invention, none that I know of will conteſt our merit in improving every Art we have received from them. What *Terence* might have done, had he lived, is uncertain. It is rather to be admired, that with all the advantages he might reap by imitating the *Greeks*, he ſhould be able to write ſix ſuch finiſhed Pieces as are yet extant of his, before thirty four years of age, and not a *Roman* by birth neither. I will here add the teſtimony of *Velleius Paterculus*,

Paterculus, an Author, whoſe good taſte was never queſtioned. He declares, that the *Roman* Dialogue and Urbanity attained its full perfection under *Cæcilius*, *Terence*, and *Afranius*. *Varro* indeed gives the firſt the preference as to the Conduct of the Stage, as *Horace* does in the Sentiments; but they both allow *Terence* inimitable in the Conduct of the Stage, as *Varro* does in the Characters. *In Argumentis Cæcilius palmam poſcit: In Etheſin Terentius.* But I ſhould chooſe to make *Horace* my judge in this matter, whoſe Art muſt extend to the Conduct of the Stage as well as to the beauty and propriety of the Characters, *Vincere Cæcilius gravitate Terentius Arte.* And *Paterculus*,——*Dulces Latini leporis facetiæ, per Cæcilium, Terentiumque & Afranium ſuppari ætate nituerunt.* To conclude theſe obſervations on this part of *Terence*'s character. His Scene, as the ingenious Mr. *Congreve* very well obſerved, and in one Play has particularly endeavoured to imitate him, always proceeds in a regular connection, the perſons going on and off for viſible reaſons, and to carry on the Action of the Play. He has indeed no witty meer chit-chat in theſe Plays of his, nor ſurfeits his audience with Scenes full of repartee, ſimile, or groſs ribaldry, nor dares abſurdly to ſhift his Scenes from one Country to another, nor has any lame Chaſms in the midſt of his Acts, whereby the whole Action is for a while at a ſtand, to be poorly botched up again in the next Scene. If theſe defects are to be found in modern Performances, it is evident, the cenſure muſt fall upon the Author's want of genius, and not on the nature of a double Plot. *Terence* having inconteſtably proved by his practice, that an Underplot, if well adjuſted, is ſo far from deſtroying the principal deſign, that it carries it on with more ſpirit and vigour, and furniſhes new incidents, without which the whole Action would be faint and heavy. Should an unskilful Artiſt attempt a Hiſtory-piece, and commit groſs miſtakes in the grouping and attitude of his figures, ſo as many of them ſhould ſeem

to have no part in the grand design of the Piece, the Connoisseurs I believe would call his abilities in question, without blaming the Art for his miscarriages in the execution. From what has been observed, I believe the Reader will be inclinable to do our Author justice, and allow his talent for forming the Characters, and conducting the Drama. Which second point, I think, Madam *Dacier* was too easy in giving up, as if she mistrusted *Terence* were deficient in this respect. Though perhaps, *Varro* and she meant only the laying the Fable or Plan of the Play, and in which alone the learned *Roman* may have given *Cæcilius* the preference. This first ground-work indeed is most essential to the forming a good Tragedy. Comedy, whose superstructure is more light and easy, will bear a slighter foundation. If therefore Tragedy demands invention and elevation, Comedy requires more genius, penetration and exactness, and I may add compass of understanding. And here it is we may say, that nature seems to have led *Terence* by the hand; who, though he was so compleat a Master of polite conversation, and has filled his Comedies with so many fine Reflections, yet he so nicely discerns the bounds of every Character, that all that is said seems just what became each person at that time, and in those circumstances. This is the genius that *Horace* approved of in a Poet to his taste.

——————*Ut sibi quivis*
Speret idem, sudet multum, frustraque laboret
Ausus idem. Art. Poet.

But our Author's most undisputed excellency yet remains to be considered, the Politeness of his Dialogue, the consummate Elegance and Purity of his Diction.

The first language of Comedy was very mean and vulgar, and the Dialogue, as it were stuffed with obscene Wit and Ribaldry. The satirical Characters of some Persons obnoxious to the public dislike, thus insolently pointed out, made up the first rude Essays of the old *Greek* Comedy at *Athens*.

The *Romans* grew not much acquainted with the *Greek*

Greek learning, 'till after the reformation of the *Athenian* Stage. *Menander*, the moſt polite *Greek* comic Poet, whoſe Pieces were ſo admired, that, according to *Paterculus*, they who followed him in the ſame way fell ſhort of it; him *Terence* choſe for his Model, having throughly ſtudied and improved his Manner; as we have ſhewn above. If *Terence* could not attain all his Wit and Humour, as *Julius Cæſar* ſeems to queſtion, he was confeſſedly more chaſte and correct. *Plautus*, who was not inferior to *Menander* in wit or humour, we ſee ſometimes gave too much way to his genius, and it is a queſtion whether he has not taken ſome of his witticiſms as well as good turns from the *Greek*, whom he almoſt equalled in moſt reſpects, allowing for the difference of language. The *Greek* being much more capable of turns of all kinds, and the genius of the people more gay and lively than that of the *Romans*, and at the time of *Menander*'s writing much politer than the *Romans* ever were.

Terence therefore, though a foreigner by birth, was by temper and education more truly *Roman* than *Plautus*. There is a dignity and gracefulneſs in his ſentiments, ſuitable to the gravity of a noble *Roman*, and it may be truly ſaid of him with reſpect to his language, that like the Graces he is often ſeen to ſmile, is ever chearful, but never breaks out into a ſtrong fit of laughter. His ſtrokes of ridicule are ſo finely expreſſed, that a vulgar eye often cannot diſcern them; upon a cloſer view they appear ſo juſt and natural, that we wonder at our own inattention, that could let them eſcape our obſervation.

And indeed the true *Attic* Wit and *Roman* Urbanity does not ſeem ſo much to have conſiſted in what we now call Turns of Wit and Pleaſantry, as in a polite and elegant propriety of Sentiments and Diction, that ſometimes glanced upon, but ſeldom directly aimed at a ſtrong Ridicule. Such *Plato*'s writings are ſaid to be: and none that ever read them, will compare that Philoſopher's Stile and Manner to that of our Modern Wits.

This

THIS happy ſtile it was, that made *Terence*'s jealous rivals give out, That *Scipio*, *Lælius*, *Furius*, and other the greateſt Men of the Age, compoſed the greater part of thoſe Pieces, which he only father'd and uſher'd into the world as his own. Thoſe Poets could never attain the Court language, as the *French* call it. It is here worth our notice, that *Terence* has been found ſo entirely free from the *African* genius in his ſtile. The other writers of that part of the world, as many as have written in the *Roman* tongue, ſome of whom were Men of great parts and learning, have diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the viciouſneſs of their ſtile. It abounds in points, is flaſhy, ſwelling, broken and impure: witneſs *Apuleius*, *Capella*, and *Tertullian*. *Maurus Terentianus* is indeed ſomething better.

HENCE I think it evident, that *Terence* was made a ſlave very young, and his education wholly *Roman*, ſince it is otherwiſe inconceivable how he ſhould not have ſucked in the leaſt tincture of that corrupt turn of thought and expreſſion, that ſo diſtorts the ſtile of thoſe elſe eloquent writers.

IT would be too great a deviation from our ſubject to enlarge upon the difference of Genius of different Nations, which has been in ſome meaſure attempted in the Introduction to the firſt Volume: yet thus much let me add, that as the language of *Athens* was the only ſtandard of a good ſtile for many Ages among the *European Greeks*, ſo none of the *Aſiatics* (generally ſpeaking) except the *Rhodians*, could attain to a nervous and manly eloquence.

IF I might dare to offer my opinion of our own comic writers on this occaſion, I ſhould think Mr. *Congreve*'s Plays excel in wit, purity of ſtile, and polite language, unleſs the Author of the *Careleſs Husband* ſhould diſpute the firſt place with him. *Wicherley* and *Farquhar* will come next, unleſs diſputed by Sir *John Vanbrugh* or *Shadwell*. Mr. *Addiſon*'s *Drummer* is beyond any of that kind in our language, and comes neareſt to the manner of *Plautus* without his faults.

MY

My chief view in what has been here ſaid of our Poets, is to give the *Engliſh* Reader ſome tolerable idea of *Plautus*'s and *Terence*'s ſtile, which I am afraid they cannot have from any tranſlation extant. The ſtile of an Author, which is often what characterizes him moſt, is hardeſt to expreſs in a tranſlation; I had almoſt ſaid impoſſible: For when you have done all, you can give but a faint reſemblance, by making him ſpeak, as you think he would have expreſſed himſelf had he been an *Engliſhman*: For to come nearer, would be to make a ſervile, that is, a very bad tranſlation. The Genius of Languages are ſo very unlike, as well as the many cuſtoms, and even ways of thinking, that ariſe in different times and nations, from Religion, Learning and Government, that we ought to make an Author great allowances, who has uſed his beſt endeavours to give us a good tranſlation of an antient writer: though I muſt abſolutely condemn the modernizing way of the famous *Ablancourt*, who has tranſlated *Tacitus*, *Lucian*, and many other of the Antients; but was ſo full of his own thoughts, that you only read the *Frenchman* when you think to read the *Greek* or *Roman*. You have the polite *Ablancourt*'s manner, for the grave and ſententious *Tacitus*, or the cenſorious and ſneering *Lucian*.

Populo ut placerent quas feciſſet fabulas, was the aim of our Poet in the regulation of his Drama, and it is unqueſtionably the true teſt of a good Play when it has a great run, and pleaſes all orders of men. It may be defective in what the Critics call the Conſtitution or Fable, may exceed in point of duration of time, and ſhift the Scene too irregularly to conſiſt with critical probability; yet all this notwithſtanding, I dare pronounce that a good Play, which with any or even all theſe irregularities, has pleaſed both Court and City, Town and Country. I do not ſay that an attention to the rules of good Critics is amiſs; but I will maintain, a Poet may fail in ſome or all theſe points, and yet if he be true in marking out his Characters, juſt and ingenious in his Sentiments and Dialogue,

Dialogue, polite and elegant in his Language, he will pleaſe in ſpite of the Critics and their Rules. This obſervation will hold good in Epic as well as Dramatic Poetry. *Homer*, with *Boſſu*'s leave, is not only deficient in the Fable of his Poem, which has been acknowledged by the moſt unprejudiced judges, but is often abſurd in his Characters: whether the Age he wrote in does not carry an excuſe with it for this, I ſhall not diſpute, as being out of the preſent queſtion: Yet the magnificence of his Diction, and the genuine beauty of his Sentiments, will make him the object of univerſal admiration, as long as a taſte for the politer Arts and Languages ſhall laſt among us.

It is the ſame in Painting: The beſt judges obſerve great faults in *Rubens*'s Manner and his Deſign, beſides the abſurdity of his modern Dreſſes, and the clumſy fleſhineſs of his Figures; but his colouring is ſo admirable, which is in Painting what the ſtile is in Poetry, that with all his faults he ſtands in the foremoſt rank of Artiſts, and takes place of many who are his inferiors in Colouring only.

'Tis this excellency of Diction and Dialogue that ſets *Terence* above all other Comic Writers. *Plautus* had more Wit; *Cæcilius* more Skill in laying the Plot.

I own that our Taſte is different from that of the *Romans* in *Terence*'s time. We ſhould like his Elegance, but think him cold and ſpiritleſs: yet this ſimplicity I am perſuaded beſt ſuited the prevailing taſte of his time. There was a gravity in the character and converſation of the *Romans*, to which we are ſtrangers; but when they were come to the higheſt pitch of grandeur and magnificence, I am perſuaded they quitted their antient ſimplicity of character, and in compliance with a luxurious Court, took up an air of Wit and Gaiety, which ſoon degenerated into affectation: Thus we find it began to do in *Nero*'s time, as appears from the writings of the graveſt Authors, *Seneca*, *Lucan*, *Tacitus*, *Quintilian* in his Declamations, and *Pliny* the younger; nay, what may ſeem ſtrange, ſo ſtrong was the ill habit, that whilſt

ſome

ſome of theſe great men complained of the decay of true Eloquence, they were themſelves the great examples and promoters of it.

Yet there are ſome Points left, wherein our Author ſeems to have failed moſt; one of which is, in not making his Characters *Roman*. The more immediately we are acquainted with thoſe Characters that are made the ſubject of Comic Ridicule, the more readily do we enter into the humour and ſpirit of the Play, and conſequently receive a more agreeable entertainment from thence, than foreign characters, though thoſe of the neighbouring nations, could poſſibly give us. In *Terence*'s time indeed the *Romans* were no ſtrangers to the *Greek* Manners and Cuſtoms, but they were indiſputably better acquainted with their own. Therefore both *Terence* and *Plautus*'s Plays would have been better reliſhed, had they laid the Scene at *Rome*.

Antoher deficiency ſeems to be a want of variety of Characters: a raking Son, a griping old Father, a tricking Slave, a greedy Strumpet, a pimping Paraſite, a Daughter expoſed or ſtolen, and owned in the Cataſtrophe: Theſe are the conſtant Characters of their Comedies, tho' not without ſome variation. It may be ſaid, that their Manners were not arrived to that height of luxury, nor had they yet diſcovered the various arts of life, which time and neceſſity have ſince taught us. Beſides, that inexhauſtible fund of Characters, *Love* was treated in a very different way among the *Greeks* and *Romans* from what it is among us. I think in general we do the fair ſex more juſtice now than they did; and Religion has made ſome amendment, outwardly at leaſt, in our Morals. All this conſidered, perhaps that ſameneſs of Characters, which makes *Plautus*'s and *Terence*'s Plays leſs agreeable, is more excuſable than ſome have imagined. Comedy in reſpect to this variety of Characters, has been very much improved among us, and I may ſay, more than in any other Nation. The indulgence of the Government, and the humour peculiar to our Iſle, ſeem to

to be two ſources of it. Beſides, our Comic Writers have taught perſons of all degrees from the Prince to the Peaſant, to appear agreeably upon the Stage; but the Antients were confined, or kept themſelves within a much ſmaller compaſs, as appears from their characters enumerated above.

Again, *Plautus* and *Terence*, however capable they might be of inventing their own Subjects, choſe rather to borrow them from the *Greek* Stage, where they knew they had already pleaſed. They have both given proofs of their judgment in the many additions and alterations they made to theſe borrowed Subjects; and I doubt not had they lived an Age later, when all Arts were in their full glory at *Rome*, and the empire in its higheſt ſtate of power and ſplendor, they would have found ſubjects enough at home to furniſh out their Scenes, and would have given more life as well as variety to their Characters; the fewneſs of which was certainly a great cramp to their Genius, which has thereby appeared to a diſadvantage, in having ſo few ſubjects to work upon. And this may be ſome apology for our Poets, who, one would think, would, both for their honour and conveniency, have varied their Characters oftener, had it been either agreeable to the Audience, or indeed poſſible to be done in that infancy of Arts among them.

Miſcellaneous Poets.

BESIDES thoſe Poets, of whoſe Life and Writings an account has been given at large, there ſhould be ſome notice taken of ſeveral both Dramatic and others, who have been eſteemed by the Antients. Though their Works being now chiefly loſt, we can form no certain judgment of our own concerning them; yet it is worth our while to know their character as far as we find it given by antient Writers. However, to avoid perplexity, I ſhall not quote the paſſages themſelves, but content my ſelf with juſt mentioning the authority I have for what is advanced concerning them.

AND there are ſome few Poets, whoſe Works tho' yet partly extant, I thought hardly deſerved a particular examination, and therefore left them to be mentioned in this place.

I have ranged them in the order of time as nearly as I could. Only as the Dramatic Writers come firſt moſt of them, I choſe not to interrupt their Series. Such among theſe Poets as have been treated of elſewhere, I ſhall ſay nothing of here, but by way of Supplement to the former accounts.

To begin with LIVIUS ANDRONICUS, I have nothing more to ſay of him, than that I find his Tragedy of *Ulyſſes* was eſteemed the beſt of all his Works.

NÆVIUS of *Campania* publiſhed his firſt Play five years after *L. Andronicus*. He was baniſhed *Rome* by a faction of the Nobles, and died the ſame year, of the ſecond *Punic* war, that *Scipio* paſſed over into *Africa*, in the Conſulſhip of *M. Cornelius Cethegus* and *P. Sempr. Tuditanus*.

ENNIUS of *Tarentum* wrote many Tragedies, as well as Annals and Satires. He ſurvived *Plautus* fourteen years, and died in the Conſulſhip of *Q. Martius Philippus* and *Cn. Serv. Cæpio*.

PORCIUS

PORCIUS LICINIUS TEGULA, or *Imbrex*, flouriſhed about the ſame time, and was a celebrated Comic Writer. *Volcatius Sedigitus*, in his liſt of them, places him in the fourth rank.

Si erit, quod quarto detur, dabitur Licinio.

STATIUS, at firſt a Slave, with his Freedom obtained the firname of *Cæcilius*, and became a famous Comic Writer. He is thought to have been an *Inſubrian Gaul* by birth, and a native of *Milan*. He was an intimate friend of *Ennius*, whom he ſurvived but one year. *Cicero* does not approve the Harſhneſs of his Stile. *Sedigitus* places him firſt;

Cæcilio palmam Statio do Comico.

And *Horace* gives him the preference for the gravity of his characters;

Vincere Cæcilius gravitate, Terentius arte.

Varro is of the ſame opinion with *Horace*. And *Vel. Paterculus*, L. 1. joins him with *Terence* and *Afranius*, whom he reckons the moſt excellent Comic Writers of *Rome*; *Dulceſque latini leporis facetiæ per Cæcilium, Terentiumque & Afranium ſub pari ætate nituerunt.*

PACUVIUS, *Ennius*'s ſiſter's ſon, was born the year of *Rome* 533, and 156th *Olympiad*, according to *Euſebius*, and gained a great reputation by many excellent Tragedies which he wrote, as well as by his ſkill in Painting. He publiſhed his laſt Piece at eighty years of age. Some years before he died he retired to *Tarentum*. He is much commended both by *Pliny* the Naturaliſt, and *Cicero*, particularly for his *Oreſtes*, which was revived and acted with applauſe in the year of *Rome* 624, when *C. Sempr. Tuditanus*, and *M. Aquilius Nepos* were Conſuls. But the ſame *Cicero* condemns his Stile His Works ſhewed him a Man of great learning, as *Horace* has obſerved, where he likewiſe commends *Attius* for his ſublime Manner;

——*auſert*

——— *aufert*
Pacuvius docti famam ſenis, Attius alti.

This *Attius* ſucceeded *Pacuvius*, and was partly his Cotemporary, for he brought his firſt Tragedy on the Stage being thirty years old, at the ſame time that *Pacuvius* wrote his laſt, which was in the year of *Rome* 614, when *C. Lælius* and *Q. Servilius Cæpio* were Conſuls. The Plays were exhibited by the great *P. Licinius Craſſus Mucianus*, then Ædile, of whom *Gellius* remarks, that he excelled in five Particulars, being very Rich, of noble Deſcent, great Eloquence, a profound Lawyer, and High Prieſt, or *Pontifex Maximus*.

ATTIUS was the ſon of a Freed-man at *Rome*, and was born the year of *Rome* 583, according to *Euſebius*, when *Martius Philippus* and *Servilius Cæpio* were Conſuls, and was ſent from *Rome* among others, whilſt he was very young, in a Colony to *Piſaurum*. *D. Junius Brutus Callaicus*, who, in the year of *Rome* 616, overcame the *Portugueſe* and *Gallicians*, was a great admirer of this Poet, with whoſe verſes he adorned the Temple he had built out of the ſpoils of that war. See *Val. Maximus*, l. 8. cap. 14. I find no account of *Attius*'s death.

Suetonius ſpeaks of ATTILUS, a Comic Writer, who is ſuppoſed to have lived about this time. *Cicero* condemns his Stile, and obſerves that he made a bad Tranſlation of the *Electra of Sophocles*. *Licinius*, for the hardneſs of his Stile, calls him an Iron Writer, but ſays, he had other good qualities which made him worth reading;

Ferreum ſcriptorem opinor, verum ſcriptorem tamen
Ut legendus ſit.———

And *Volcatius Sedigitus* has ſet him a degree above *Terence*. *Marcus Acuticus* was Cotemporary with *Plautus*, and a Comic Writer, ſome of whoſe Pieces had been aſcribed to *Plautus*, but by *Varro* were reſtored to the right Author. PLAUTIUS, another Comic and Cotemporary Writer, ſuffered in the ſame manner.

For

For ſuch was the fondneſs of the *Romans* for all *Plautus*'s Plays, that they were ready to aſcribe all to him that ſavoured of his manner, unleſs the true Author was known.

But Cneius Aquilius, another Comic Poet of the ſame Age, had afterwards the credit of fathering ſome of *Plautus*'s Plays, 'till the critical enquiry of *Varro* deprived him of it, and aſcribed them to *Plautus*.

Luscius, another Comic Poet, was Cotemporary with *Terence*.

Turpilius and Trabea lived ſome time after him. Theſe were all Comic Poets of reputation, who are thus ranged by *Sedigitus*.

Turpilius ſeptimum, Trabea octavum obtinet,
Nono loco eſſe facile facio Luſcium.

Turpilius lived to a great age, and died about the time that *Furius Bibaculus* was born, at *Sinueſſa* in the 169th *Olympiad*, according to *Euſebius*, about the year of *Rome* 649. *Alexis* and *Menander* are the two *Greek* Poets he is ſaid to have imitated.

C. Titius, a *Roman* Knight, flouriſhed not many years after, both at the Bar by his Eloquence, and on the Stage by his Tragedies,

After him came Afranius, his profeſſed Admirer and Imitator, though in the comic way. But he choſe *Roman* ſubjects, from whence his Comedies were called *Togatæ*. *Horace* has obſerved his happy Imitation of *Menander*'s manner;

Dicitur Afrani toga conveniſſe Menandro.

Afranius had ſo great a value for *Terence*, that he pronounced him almoſt inimitable, ſaying, *Terentio non ſimilem dices quempiam.* Both *Quintilian* and *Auſonius* allow his Excellencies, but jointly lament the Lewdneſs and Immorality of his Writings. I think it is no proof of *Sedigitus*'s judgment, not to have mentioned this polite Writer among his Comic Poets, unleſs he put him in another Claſs, becauſe his Comedies were on *Roman* Subjects.

Soon

Soon after him flouriſhed Novius, a writer of *Atellane* Farces, and ſome time after him Mummius in the ſame way.

Pomponius Bononiensis is likewiſe ſaid to have been the Author of ſome *Attellane* Pieces. He was a man of great wit and elegance, according to *Cicero* and *Seneca*, and flouriſhed about the ſame time with *Mummius*.

C. Julius Cæsar Strabo, who was Ædile in the year of *Rome* 664, wrote many Tragedies according to *Cicero*, who obſerves, that his ſtile was ſmooth and flowing, but wanted ſtrength.

About the ſame time flouriſhed Titus Quinctius Atta, a comic writer of Plays with *Roman* characters. He died at *Rome* in the 175th *Olympiad*, according to *Euſebius*. *Feſtus* the Grammarian ſays, he was ſirnamed *Atta* from the lameneſs of his feet; to which *Horace* ſeems to allude, where he complains, that the *Patricians* would not allow him to examine whether *Atta*, in his Comedies, trod the Stage gracefully; (which uſed to be ſtrewed with flowers) he means, that they were offended he ſhould preſume to doubt the merit of thoſe pieces, in which thoſe excellent Players *Roſcius* and *Æſopus* had acted parts.

Recte necne crocum floreſque perambulet Attæ
Fabula ſi dubitem: clament periiſſe pudorem
Cuncti pene patres, ea cum reprehendere coner
Quæ gravis Æſopus, quæ doctus Roſcius egit.

Pomponius Secundus, was a man of quality, born at *Bologna*. He flouriſhed about the year of *Rome* 782, and was cotemporary with *Seneca* the Philoſopher. He is ſaid to have compoſed a great many Tragedies. *Pliny*, in the 4th *C.* of *L.* 14. of his Natural Hiſtory, tells us, that he had written an account of his life. *Pliny* the younger relates this remarkable humour of his; that when he read his Plays to a friend, to have his advice, and he propoſed ſome alterations, or to have ſomething omitted, which the Poet, on the contrary, liked, and had a

mind to retain as it was, he pleaſantly uſed to ſay, *I appeal to the People.* *Quintilian*, who ſays he juſt remembers to have ſeen *Secundus*, ſpeaks of him as an excellent critic, and takes notice of a little controverſy that happened between him and *Seneca* the Philoſopher about the propriety of ſome expreſſions of the Poet *Attius*. This Poet was much beloved by *Germanicus*, and the loftineſs of his ſtile got him the ſirname of the *Tragic Pindar*.

Ovid commends MELLISSUS, the freed-man of *Mecænas*, as a comic writer;

Et tua cum Socco Muſa, Meliſſe levis.
De Ponto L. 2. El. 10.

Suetonius ſays, this *Meliſſus*'s Comedies were of a different ſort from the *Roman Togatæ Fabulæ*, and were called *Trabeatæ*.

TURANIUS was a tragic Poet of ſome reputation, who flouriſhed about the ſame time, according to *Ovid*;

Muſaque Turani tragicis innixa Cothurnis.

LET us now look a little back to ſome other Poets whom we omitted, whilſt we were willing to preſent the principal dramatic writers in one view. For to attempt a compleat catalogue of them or the other Poets, if all deſerve that name who ſometimes diverted themſelves with Poetry, would be a tedious as well as a very dull task. *Voſſius*, and ſome others, have been laborious in theſe Collections, to whom I muſt refer the Reader, that is curious of ſuch knowledge.

THE firſt of theſe Poets we are now to treat of ſhould be CATO the *Cenſor*, were he acknowledged to be the Author of thoſe moral Diſtichs which bear his name. This is now given up by all the Critics, but ſtill they are divided in their conjectures about the age and character of the Author. Some imagine him to have been a Heathen of the 4th Century, whilſt others more probably ſuppoſe it the work of ſome Chriſtian writer

writer of the 8th, who, in naming the Book might imitate the Antients, who frequently entitled their Books by the name of ſome great Man that had diſtinguiſhed himſelf on the ſubject which they treated of. *Plato*, *Cicero*, and *Lucian*, furniſh us with many examples of this practice. The Book is well adapted to the capacity of children, for whoſe inſtruction it ſeems intended, and the Author was a man of good ſenſe and piety at leaſt, though no Poet.

Lutatius Catulus preſents himſelf next. He was Conſul the year of *Rome* 650, with *Marius*, when both ſignalized themſelves in defeating and almoſt deſtroying the *Cimbri*. Afterwards, in the civil wars between *Marius* and *Sylla*, *Catulus* ſided with the latter, and when *Marius*, during *Sylla*'s abſence in *Aſia*, aſſiſted by *Cinna*'s faction, had made himſelf Maſter of *Rome*, where he proſcribed and put to death the moſt illuſtrious men of the State, who had oppoſed or not joined with him, *Catulus*, to avoid his fury, having ſhut himſelf up in a retired apartment which had been lately plaiſtered, he was ſtifled there by the ſtench of the mortar, and the fumes of the charcoal fire that had been made to dry the walls.

His talent lay at *Epigram*, of which he publiſhed many, but his ſtile was not ſo correct nor elegant as that of *Catullus*, and his verſification more irregular. His wit was generally admired, which it would have deſerved better had he not indulged himſelf in obſcene ſubjects ſo much. He was an Hiſtorian as well as a Poet, and wrote the Hiſtory of his own Conſulſhip, which he addreſſed to his friend *Furius Antias*, that is, who was born at *Antium*. *Macrobius*, *L.* 7. *Saturn.* obſerves, that *Virgil* has been beholden to this Author for many things, which argues that he was a good writer for the Age he lived in. But what Poems he wrote I do not find any where mentioned.

D. Laberius, a *Roman* Knight, had gained a great Reputation by his comic Pieces called *Mimes*, in the time of *Julius Cæſar*; whom having offended by ſome of his Railleries, *Cæſar*, in revenge, ordered

him, to the Diſgrace of the *Equeſtrian* Order, to mount the Stage when he was above ſixty years old. *Laberius* very ingeniouſly complains of this hardſhip in a fragment which *Macrobius* has preſerved, L. 2. *Saturnal.* *Laberius* died the year after *Cæſar*'s aſſaſſination, and left the glory of this kind of Dramatic Poetry to be indiſputably enjoyed by PUBLIUS SYRUS, whoſe name ſhould intimate that he was a *Syrian* by birth, and having been made a ſlave when young and brought to *Rome*, he there obtained his liberty by his merit, and proved ſo excellent a writer of *Mimes*, that the *Romans* preferred them to the beſt of their own or the *Greek* Dramatic Writers. *Julius Cæſar* firſt eſtabliſhed his reputation, and gave him the Prize of Poetry againſt his friend *Laberius*, who contended with *Syrus* for it, who was as yet but a young man. He continued to flouriſh many years under *Auguſtus*. *Caſſius Severus* was a profeſſed admirer of him, and the two *Seneca*'s ſpeak of him with the higheſt encomiums, 3 *Controverſ.* and *Epiſt.* 8. Many moderns, and particularly the *Scaligers*, have launched out very much in his praiſe; they ſay he ſtripped *Greece* of all her wit, fine turns, and agreeable raillery, and that his Sentences include the ſubſtance of the Doctrine of the wiſeſt Philoſophers. They were extracted from his mimic Pieces ſome time under the *Antonines*, according to the beſt Editors. They are generally printed with the Fables of *Phædrus*.

FURIUS, ſirnamed of BIBACULUS, perhaps from his exceſſive drinking, was born about the year of *Rome* 650. *Quintilian* ſays, that he wrote Iambics in a very ſatirical ſtrain, and therefore is cenſured by *Cremutius Cordus* in *Tacitus* Annal. L. 4. C. 8. as a ſlandering and invective writer. *Horace* is thought to have ridiculed the falſe ſublime of his ſtile, L. 2. *Sat.* 5. yet, according to *Macrobius Saturnal.* L. 6. C. 1. *Virgil* is ſaid to have imitated him in many places.

SOON after him flouriſhed RABIRIUS, a Poet of a very great character, who is ſaid to have written a fine

fine Poem on the wars between *Auguſtus* and *Anthony*. See *Velleius Paterculus*, 2 L. *Ovid* L. 4. *ult. Eleg. Quintilian*, L. 10. And *Horace* names him among thoſe genius's of the firſt rate, whom he deſired to pleaſe in his writings. The Critics have not been able to collect any fragments of his, ſufficient for us to form any judgment of his manner, ſo that we can only conclude from the joint teſtimony of his cotemporaries, that he was a fine Critic and a noble Poet, magnificence of expreſſion being his peculiar character, according to *Ovid*,

——*Magnique Rabirius oris.*

Valerius Cato, who flouriſhed in *Sylla*'s time, is ſaid by ſome Critics to be the Author of a little Poem called *Diræ*, that is among the *Juvenilia* of *Virgil*. He was of *Gallic* extraction, and had compoſed ſome elegiac Poems under the title of *Lydia* and *Diana*, to which *Suetonius de Gram. Illuſtr.* is ſuppoſed to allude, where he calls this Author the *Syren* of the *Latins*, from the enchanting ſoftneſs of his Muſe.

Corn. Licinius Calvus, cotemporary with, and an intimate friend of *Catullus*, is reckoned by *Cornelius Nepos* as one of the beſt Poets of the Age. He wrote many Elegies and Epigrams *, in the former he celebrated his Paſſion for *Quintilia*. *Cicero* gives him the character of a very ſmart Iambic Writer, without regard to Party; for he ſpared neither *Cæſar* nor *Pompey*. Yet he bore the character of a very good-natured man. *Seneca* the Rhetorician, and *Quintilian*, allow him to have been ſo excellent an Orator, that he contended for ſome time with *Cicero* for the pre-eminence. He was a man of a low ſtature, for which he is agreeably rallied by *Catullus*.

The Works of theſe noble Poets would have ad-

* *Propertius* takes notice of them as follows:
Hæc etiam docti confeſſa eſt pagina Calvi,
Cum caneret miſeræ funera Quintiliæ.
Lib. 2. El. 25.

mirably contributed to ſhew the progreſs of Poetry from *Ennius* to *Virgil*

Cornificius flouriſhed ſoon after *Calvus*, and is celebrated by *Ovid* for a good elegiac Writer. And *Euſebius* ſays, his ſiſter *Cornificia* was a Lady who ſhewed how capable the fair Sex is of converſing with the Muſes.

Quintilius Varus, the *Roman* General, whoſe Army was unfortunately cut in pieces, (for grief of which he killed himſelf) after ſeveral Exploits in *Germany*, was one of *Virgil*'s firſt Patrons, and is by him celebrated as ſuch in his *Eclogues:* and *Julius Scaliger* thinks him to be the true Author of *Etna*, a Poem that is commonly aſcribed to *Virgil*. This Poem is in good Eſteem, and the Critics ſay even *Virgil* need not bluſh to own it.

The Two Varro's preſent themſelves next to our Conſideration. Marcus Terentius Varro, the *Roman*, was born the year of *Rome* 638, and died at 89 years of age. His great Learning made him the Admiration of his Time, which was the moſt flouriſhing for Arts and Glory that *Rome* ever knew. There are divers Fragments of his Works, particularly of his *Menippian* Satires which were Medleys of Proſe and Verſe. *Scaliger* has likewiſe collected ſome of his Epigrams from among the *Catalecta* of *Virgil*. In general he ſeems to have been a much greater Critic and Scholar than he was a Poet. He bore many great Offices, and among the reſt was Tribune of the People. He was an intimate Friend of *Cicero*'s and in the Civil Wars warmly aſſiſted *Pompey*, but after his Defeat ſoon ſubmitted to *Cæſar*, who was reconciled to him. From hence he applied all his time in the Improvement of Learning in general, and had the charge of the *Greek* and *Latin* Libraries at *Rome*. He was above ſeventy when *Anthony* proſcribed him: however, he found means to eſcape and ſave his Life, but could not ſave his Library, and ſome of his Works from the fury of the Soldiers, which was a great loſs to him and to Poſterity. After this Storm was over he peaceably purſued

ſued his ſtudies, and in a paſſage of his quoted by *Gellius*, L. 3. C. 10. *Varro* ſays, that being ſeventy eight years old at the time of his writing the book which *Gellius* quotes, he had already compoſed 490 volumes. *Pliny*, L. 29. C. 4. of his natural Hiſtory ſays, that *Varro* continued his ſtudies, and wrote when he was 88 years of age. He was 80 when he publiſhed his books of agriculture, which are yet extant. The loſs of his ſeveral works is doubtleſs one of the greateſt which the Commonwealth could ever ſuffer, this excellent man having all the talents as well as opportunities requiſite to compleat his enquiries, and make his works both inſtructive and entertaining.

* VARRO ATACINUS was born about the ſame time as *Cicero*, at a ſmall town near *Narbonne*. Though infinitely inferior to the *Roman* in learning, he was at leaſt as good if not a better poet, which perhaps has made many Critics confound them. His chief Works were a Poem on the war with the *Sequani*, a people of *Gaul*; and the *Aſtronomics*, that went under the name of *Plauciades* the *Grammarian*. But the *Argonautics* in 4 books, was what gained him the greateſt reputation, and is commended by *Quintilian*, And the elder *Seneca* obſerves, that *Virgil* had ſo good an opinion of this author, that he ſometimes inſerted his Verſes in his Works, but with ſome corrections, to give them more ſtrength. Hence we may infer that he was a polite and eaſy writer.

HELVIUS CINNA, who flouriſhed under the *Triumvirs*, is ſaid to have been author of ſeveral Poems on *Achilles*, *Telephus*, *Xerxes*, &c. but his Poem named *Smyrna* got him moſt reputation, which is ſaid to have ſpared no pains nor time to deſerve, having been nine years about it. His ſtile was nevertheleſs ſo obſcure and difficult, that *Craſſitius*, a Grammarian

* One of the Two *Varro's* is reckoned among the beſt Elegiac Poets by *Propertius*;

Hæc quoque perfecto ludebat Jaſone Varro,
Varro Leucadiæ maxima flamma ſuæ.
L. 2. El. 25.

of note, wrote a learned Commentary to explain the Poem; which according to the following Epigram, he was the only perſon that rightly underſtood.

Uni Craſſitio ſe credere Smyrna probavit,
Deſinite indocti connubio hanc petere.
Soli Craſſitio ſe dixit nubere velle;
Intima cui ſoli nota ſua extiterint.

AUGUSTUS and GERMANICUS were both Poets. The former was ſo far from admiring his own compoſitions, that being asked, what he had done with his *Ajax?* a Tragedy he had made of that name, but with which he was diſſatisfied, he ſaid pleaſantly, *In ſpongiam incubuit*, he has killed himſelf with a ſponge, intimating, that he had rubbed it out of his tablets.

GERMANICUS, who was one of the greateſt men of antiquity, which coſt him his life through the jealouſy of *Tiberius*, who had been obliged by *Auguſtus* to adopt him for his ſucceſſor, had according to *Quintilian* and *Ovid*, a fine genius to Poetry. *Germanicus Cæſar*, ſays the *Roman* Critic, if he had not been called away from the Muſes by the more important cares of Government, might have rivalled the greateſt Poets. Nevertheleſs, where can we find more learning and excellency in all points than in his juvenile Poems? but who, indeed, better underſtood to ſing of wars than the ſame perſon who had behaved ſo gloriouſly in them?

PEDO ALBINOVANUS was a writer of great merit in ſeveral kinds of Poetry. *Ovid* mentions his *Theſied*, an epic Poem; and *Seneca* commends one on an expedition of *Germanicus*. *Martial* ſpeaks in praiſe of his Epigrams, L. 2. *Epigr.* 77. and the Critics are now almoſt agreed that we have ſome of his Elegies yet extant, which had been attributed to *Ovid*. That on the death of *Druſus* is reckoned very elegant.

Though we have no particular account of the Works of *Calidius*, he was certainly a Poet of no mean genius; for *Cornelius Nepos*, in the life of *Atticus*, after having obſerved, that *Catullus* and *Lucretius* were already dead,

dead, gives this *Calidius* the preference to all the Poets of his time.

Caius Asinius Pollio had a very ſublime genius for Poetry. *Horace* deſcribes him as ſuch, Sat. 10. L. 2. and Od. 1. L. 2. and *Virgil*, in his third Eclogue, celebrates him as a fine Poet. He excelled in writing Tragedies. See *Horace*, L. 2. Od. 1. and *Virgil*, Eclogue 8. verſe 6.

Tu mihi ſeu magni ſuperas jam ſaxa timavi,
Sive oram Illyrici legis æquoris; en erit unquam
Ille dies, mihi cùm liceat tua dicere facta?
En erit, ut liceat totum mihi ferre per orbem
Sola ſophocleo tua carmina digna Cothurno?
A te principium, tibi deſinet: accipe juſſis
Carmina cæpta tuis, atque hanc ſine tempora circum
Inter victrices Hederam tibi ſerpere Laurus.

He was alſo a fine Orator and a juſt Hiſtorian. But he could never be reconciled to *Cicero*'s Eloquence, perhaps not only out of Enmity to him but in Friendſhip to *Marc Anthony*, whom *Cicero* had ſo bitterly inveighed againſt in his *Philippics*. He was Conſul the year of *Rome* 714, and triumphed the year after. *Julius Cæſar*, ſome time before his Death, had made him Governour of the farther Provinces of *Spain*. He joined *Anthony* with two Legions before the Triumvirate was eſtabliſhed; and when the War broke out between *Anthony* and *Auguſtus*, he aſſiſted *Lucius Antonius* againſt *Auguſtus*, and was afterwards a great Inſtrument in making the Peace between them at *Puteoli*. After having triumphed over the *Illyrians*, he ſpent the remainder of his Days in *Italy* in Peace. but ſtill was ſo far a Friend to *Anthony* that though he would not join with him, yet neither would he ſide with *Auguſtus* againſt him, in regard to the great Obligations which he owed him. He lived to Fourſcore, and died towards the End of *Auguſtus*'s Reign, the year of *Rome* 757.

Cassius Severus of *Parma*, who was one of the Conſpirators againſt *Cæſar*, and the laſt that ſuffered for that Aſſaſſination, was a Writer of great Spirit and

Elegance. *Horace* indeed ridicules his ready vein in one place, but in another he thinks he makes a fine Compliment to his Friend *Tibullus*, when he tells that he outdoes even *Caſſius* in Elegy:

Scribere quod Caſſi Parmenſis opuſcula vincat.

He alſo informs us, that *Varrius*, whom *Auguſtus* had ſent to put *Caſſius* to death, burnt him in his Study, with all his Works. *Quintilian* ſeems to allow, that *Caſſius*'s great Excellency lay in his Verſification, but obſerves at the ſame time, that if he had lived to finiſh his Poem on the civil Wars, with the ſame Spirit that appeared in what was extant of it, he might juſtly have challenged the ſecond Place among the *Roman* Poets. Perhaps he was buſy on this Poem when he was put to Death. He had ſided with *Brutus* and *Caſſius* againſt *Anthony* and *Auguſtus*; *Horace*, who had done the ſame, being afterwards driven by neceſſity to turn Poet, by which he had ingratiated himſelf with *Auguſtus*, it was Policy in him to ſpeak with Contempt of *Caſſius*, and eſpecially ſince he employed his Genius to celebrate the Exploits of *Brutus* and *Caſſius* againſt the Triumvirs.

Cornelius Gallus, born at *Frejus* in *France*, then called *Forum Julium*, was a perſon of Diſtinction as well as a good Poet. He was the particular Favourite of *Auguſtus*, who made him Governour of *Egypt*, after having conquered it by the Defeat and Death of *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*, but he was guilty of ſuch enormous Oppreſſions and Male-Adminiſtration in his Government, that the Senate was obliged to take cognizance of it; nor could all the Friendſhip and Intereſt of *Auguſtus* ſave *Gallus* from being condemned to Baniſhment, and to loſe his Eſtate. He was ſo grieved at this Diſgrace that he put an end to his own Life, being about 43 years old. *Virgil* has complemented him in many Places. The whole tenth Eclogue is on the Subject of his Love to *Lycoris*, the poetical Name of *Gallus*'s Miſtreſs, whoſe cruel diſdain is there lamented. He had written four Books of Elegies on this

his Amour; but *Quintilian* thinks him not ſo ſoft as *Tibullus* or *Propertius*. *Propertius* commends his Elegies in the following Lines, wherein he alludes to his violent Death;

Et modo formoſa qui multa Lycoride Gallus,
Mortuus inferna vulnera lavit aqua.
L. 2. El. 25.

He alſo tranſlated ſome Works of *Euphoreon*, a *Greek* Poet of *Chalcis*, wherein, among other Things, there was a particular Account of the Origin of the *Grynæan* Oracle of *Apollo*. On this Occaſion, *Virgil*, in the 6th Eclogue, deſcribing the Song of *Silenus*, introduces *Gallus* as introduced into *Parnaſſus* by one of the Muſes, who all receive him with peculiar Honour, and the Poet *Linus* complements him on the abovementioned Poem;

Tum canit errantem Permeſſi ad flumina Gallum,
Aonas in montes ut duxerit una ſororum:
Utque viro Phœbi Chorus aſſurrexerit omnis:
Ut Linus hæc illi divino carmine paſtor,
Floribus atque apio crines ornatus amaro,
Dixerit; hos tibi dant Calamos, en accipe, Muſæ
Aſcræo quos ante Seni: quibus ille ſolebat
Cantando rigidas deducere montibus ornos.
His tibi Grynæi nemoris dicatur origo:
Ne quis ſit lucus, quo ſe plus jactet Apollo.
Ecl. 6. V. 64.

Here one would imagine *Virgil* inſinuated, that *Gallus* had imitated *Heſiod*, but in the 10th Eclogue *Gallus* ſays himſelf that he will go and ſing the Song he had compoſed, or tranſlated from the Poet of *Chalcis*, upon the Pipe of the *Cicilian* Shepherd, which means *Theocritus*; and from this we muſt conclude, that part of theſe Tranſlations from *Euphoreon* were in the *Buconic*, or Paſtoral Strain, as ſome of them were after *Heſiod*'s manner.

Ibo, & Chalcidico quæ ſunt mihi condita Verſu
Carmina Paſtoris Siculi modulabor avena.

As for thoſe Elegies that have been publiſhed under his Name, the moſt judicious Critics agree they are not his, but were written by *Maximian*, a more modern Poet, an obſcure, trifling, looſe Writer, in many Places offending againſt the common Rules of the quantities of Syllables, and often full of Barbariſms: And in ſome of them the Poet confeſſes himſelf to be an old Man, which was not *Gallus*'s Caſe, who died at 43. But beſides theſe Six Elegies, *Aldus Manutius* met with ſome Fragments at *Venice* that were aſcribed to *Gallus*, which, though written in a better Taſte than the former, *Joſ. Scaliger* has proved to be ſpurious. But *Manutius* was guilty of another Miſtake, by confounding this *Gallus* with *Aſinius Gallus*, the Son of *Pollio*, whom we have mentioned already. Our *Gallus* died the year of *Rome* 728, ſeven years before *Virgil*. *Pollio*'s Son, *Aſinius Gallus*, was cruelly put to Death by the Emperor *Tiberius*, the year of *Rome* 789.

VARIUS and TUCCA, intimate Friends of *Virgil* and *Horace*, are mentioned by the latter in the number of good Poets, and were, with ſome others, commiſſioned by *Auguſtus* to reviſe and publiſh the *Æneid* after *Virgil*'s death. *Varius* we find was a noble epic Writer, and *Horace* has intimated, that he was writing a Poem on *Agrippa*'s exploits, in the 6th Ode of Lib. 1. addreſſed to that brave General of *Auguſtus*:

Scriberis Vario fortis, & hoſtium
Victor, Mæonii carminis alite.

How much he was beloved by his Prince is teſtified by the ſame Poet in his epiſtle addreſſed to that Emperor;

Dilecti tibi Virgilius, Variuſque poetæ.

The ſame Writer ſpeaks of him advantagiouſly in other Places, and eſpecially in his Art of Poetry, where it is to be noted, as well as in the former quotation, that he is put next to *Virgil*. And here theſe two ſeem to be mentioned as the beſt Poets of their time, and, as ſuch, juſtly deſerving the higheſt regard of their Countrymen;

—*Quid*

——*Quid autem*
Cæcilio Plautoque dabit Romanus, ademptum
Virgilio, Varioque?

THE Poet MACER flouriſhed about this time: for *Ovid* ſpeaks of a Poem of his on the nature and qualities of Birds, Serpents, and Herbs, which he ſays *Macer*, being then very old, had often read to him;

Sæpe ſuas volucres legit mihi grandior Ævo,
Quæque nocet ſerpens, quæ juvat herba, Macer.
De Ponto L. 4. El. 10.

He alſo wrote a Supplement to *Homer*, as *Quintus Calaber* did afterwards in *Greek*:

Tu canis æterno quicquid reſtabat Homero:
Ne careant ſumma Troica bella manu.
De Ponto L. 2. El. 10,

PONTICUS, a Poet cotemporary with *Macer*, wrote a Poem on the *Theban* war; we know nothing particularly of his character but from his friend *Propertius*, who compares him to *Homer*:

Dum tibi Cadmeæ dicantur, Pontice, Thebæ,
Armaque fraternæ triſtia militiæ:
Atque, ita ſim felix, primo contendis Homero,
Sint modo fata tuis mollia carminibus.
L. 1. El. 7.

Ovid has alſo mentioned him as famous for epic Poetry, and joins him with *Battus* an *Iambic* Poet, of whom we have no other knowledge but what *Ovid* has given us, who calls them his dear companions:

Ponticus Heroo, Battus quoque clarus Iambo,
Dulcia convictus membra fuere mei.
De Ponto. L. 2. El. 10.

The epigrammatic Poet GETULICUS flouriſhed about the ſame time, and is mentioned by *Martial*, where he makes an apology for the looſeneſs of his Epigrams, and alledges the example of the beſt epigrammatic Writers.

VALGIUS

VALGIUS was a Poet of the firſt rank. *Horace* has mentioned him among thoſe excellent Wits, whoſe approbation he deſired: And *Tibullus* compares him to *Homer* in his Poem to *Meſſalla*.——*Æterno propior non alter Homero.*

CORNELIUS SEVERUS, who flouriſhed about the ſame time with *Valgius*, was likewiſe a conſiderable Poet, and ſome Critics conſider him as the Author of the *Ætna*, a Poem among the *Catalecta* of *Virgil*. He had alſo undertaken to write a Poem of the Wars in *Sicily*, probably between *Auguſtus* and *Sextus Pompeius*, and though he died before he finiſhed it, is highly commended for it by *Quintilian*. *Ovid* addreſſes him not only as his Friend, but as a Court Favourite and a great Poet.——*O vates magnorum maxime regum*, and a little lower he adds,

Fertile pectus habes, interque Helicona colentes
Uberius nulli provenit iſta Seges.
De Ponto. L. 4. El. 2.

RABIRIUS flouriſhed under *Auguſtus*, and bore the Character of a very ſublime Poet, which *Ovid* expreſly mentions, De Ponto. L. 4. El. 16.—*Magnique Rabirius oris.* The Reader may conſult this Elegy, where he will find many other Poets mentioned, with ſometimes a ſhort Character of them, of whom, as we have no other Account, I thought it would be both dull and tedious barely to name them. *Rabirius* is alſo mentioned by *Horace* as his Friend, and a Perſon of excellent Merit. *Quintilian* calls him an Author worth being acquainted with; and *Velleius Paterculus* ſcruples not to place him next to *Virgil*, L. 2. Hiſtor. *Rabirius*'s chief Work was a Poem on the War between *Auguſtus* and *Anthony*, I ſuppoſe the *Actian* War, a ſubject which exerciſed the Pens of the fineſt Writers of the *Auguſtan* Age.

SABINUS was an Elegiac Poet, cotemporary with *Rabirius*: According to *Ovid*, the following Epiſtles are ſaid to have been publiſhed by him: *Ulyſſes* to *Penelope*, *Hyppolitus* to *Phædra*, *Demophoon* to *Phyllis*,

lis, *Jaſon* to *Hypſipile*, and *Sappho* to *Phaon*, none of which are preſerved: Thoſe that are among *Ovid*'s under theſe Titles being eſteemed unworthy of him and *Sabinus*. But the general Opinion is, that ſome, if not all of the ſix following are *Sabinus*'s, though amongſt *Ovid*'s; namely, *Paris* to *Helen*, *Helen* to *Paris*, *Leander* to *Hero*, *Hero* to *Leander*, *Acontius* to *Cydippe*, and *Cydippe* to *Acontius*. *Ovid* obſerves, that *Sabinus* was the Author of ſome other Works, which he did not live to finiſh.

Quique ſuam Trœzen, imperfectumque Dierum
Deſeruit celeri morte Sabinus opus.

De Ponto. L. 4. El. 16.

Horace ſpeaks very handſomely of his Friend TITIUS SEPTIMIUS, a Lyric and Tragic Poet.

Quid Titius Romana brevi venturus in ora,
Pindarici fontis qui non expalluit hauſtus,
Faſtidire lacus ac rivos auſus apertos,
Ut valet? Ut meminit noſtri? Fidibuſne Latinis
Thebanos aptare modos ſtudet auſpice Muſa
An tragica deſævit & ampullatur in arte?

L. 1. Epiſt. 3.

And what doth *Titius*, he of growing Fame,
Who doth not fear to drink of *Pindar*'s Stream,
Who ſcorns known Springs and Lakes, that glorious He,
And is he well, and doth he think of me?
Doth he, the Muſe propitious, nobly ſing,
And fit to *Roman* Harps the *Theban* String?
Or is he writing Plays, and treads the Stage
In murd'ring Verſe, and ſwells with Tragic Rage?

Creech.

JULIUS FLORUS, to whom this Epiſtle is addreſſed, had among other great Qualities, a maſterly skill in Poetry according to *Horace*,

——— *Non tibi parvum*
Ingenium, non incultum eſt, nec turpiter hirtum,

Seu

Seu linguam cauſis acuis, ſeu civica jura
Reſpondere paras, ſeu condis amabile carmen,
Prima feres hederæ victricis præmia.

GRATIUS, of whom we have Part of a Poem on Hunting, is ſuppoſed to have been Cotemporary with *Ovid*, and by him pointed out in the laſt Elegy of the 4th *L. de Ponto.*

Aptaque venanti Gratius *arma dedit.*

THE Stile of this Poem is reckoned pure, but without Elevation; he is cenſured by the Critics for dwelling too long on Fables, and as he is counted much ſuperior to *Nemeſianus*, who has treated the ſame Subject, ſo he is reckoned in all Points inferior to the *Greek* Poet *Oppian*, who wrote his *Cynegetics* and *Halieutics*, under *Severus* and *Caracalla*, to whom he preſented them, and who is ſaid to have rewarded the Poet very magnificently.

FLAVIUS ALPHIUS AVITUS flouriſhed under *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius*, according to *Seneca* the Rhetorician, Controverſy the 15th, he was very famous in his Youth for his Eloquence; but is thought by that Critic to have enervated the Force of his Stile in Proſe, by applying himſelf to Poetry, in which he did not ſucceed ſo well. *Priſcian* quotes ſome Verſes of his out of his *Lives of illuſtrious Men*, in two Books in Verſe; and *Terentianus Maurus* mentions him for his Eloquence; which was ſo great when he was very young, that all *Rome* followed him with Admiration: But he afterwards neglected the true bent of his Genius for Poetry, in which Nature ſeemed not to deſign he ſhould ſucceed.

CÆSIUS BASSUS, a *Lyric* Poet, flouriſhed under the *Veſpaſians*. *Quintilian* places him next to *Horace*, and *Pliny* the younger has alſo commended him for his happy Talent that Way.

TITUS PETRONIUS ARBITER, though more celebrated for that Part of his Works which is in Proſe, may juſtly claim our Notice among the Poets. He is an admirable Critic and a polite Writer, yet has ſometimes

ſometimes fallen into Affectation in his Stile, through the too great Delicacy of his Taſte. This makes him ſometimes treſpaſs againſt ſome of thoſe excellent Rules, which he has himſelf laid down in different Parts of his *Menippian* Satire; for that ſuch it was, appears from what we have remaining of it. I ſhall not enquire into the Deſign of it, as of little Importance to know, only muſt obſerve that if, as his Admirers alledge (who ſay he flouriſhed in *Nero*'s Court, being Maſter of the Revels to that Prince) he meant to expoſe the Luxury and Debauchery of the Court, it is ſtrange he ſhould chooſe to do it in ſuch a Manner; for it is notorious that he ſpeaks of the moſt infamous Acts of Lewdneſs with too great a Guſt to be thought a Reformer: I ſhould rather imagine that he has likewiſe drawn his own Picture among thoſe of the other Debauchees of that Court and Age. In a word, his Satire is ſuch a ſtrange Medley of Virtue and Vice, that it is ſometimes difficult to determine what he condemns, or what he approves. He had a great Genius, and knew very well how to enter into every Character he intended to commend or expoſe, and is ſaid by a happy Temperature to have joined the Humour of *Plautus* to the Eloquence of *Cicero*, out of which he has formed a moſt lively and elegant Stile, peculiar to himſelf, and hitherto inimitable, in which the Perfection of the *Roman* Urbanity is to be diſcovered by judicious Readers. His Character and the Occaſion and Manner of his Death, which were all very extraordinary, are finely given us by *Tacitus*, *L.* 16. *Annal.* That is ſuppoſing him to be the very Perſon there mentioned, which though doubted by *Lipſius* and ſome other Critics, is now the moſt prevailing Opinion. A conſiderable Fragment of *Petronius* was pretended to be found at *Trau* in *Dalmatia*, in the *Venetian* Dominions, by a Phyſician about the middle of the laſt Century. This occaſioned a Controverſy among the Critics, of which there is ſome Account in *Spon*'s Voyages, who viſited this Phyſician and ſaw the Manuſcript in Queſtion. Though *Petronius*

nius is generally thought to have been an *Epicurean*, ſome maintain he was a *Stoic*, and have attempted to prove it from his Works. *Salmaſius* and ſome other Critics are of Opinion, that the preſent Fragments of *Petronius* are merely *Excerpta* or Paſſages tranſcribed by ſome Student, who noted down what pleaſed him beſt in the Courſe of his reading this Author, and that the Original and entire Copies were deſtroyed by the raſh Zeal of the Monks, which has been more injurious to the learned World in many Reſpects, than the ſeveral Ravages of the barbarous Nations, or the deſtroying Hand of Time it ſelf. *Petronius*, whether through the Favour of *Nero* or his own Merit, was ſent Proconſul to *Bythinia*, where this Man of Pleaſure, like another *Mecænas*, ſhowed himſelf capable of the cloſeſt Application to Buſineſs, and performed all the Duties of an able Magiſtrate: He was afterwards, as *Tacitus* ſays, choſen Conſul, perhaps extraordinarily for ſome Months, as was uſual, when the Conſul died within the year of his Office, which was never left vacant: I mention this becauſe we do not find his Name in any Liſt of the Conſuls, and yet the Authority of *Tacitus* is unqueſtionable, who ſays he was Conſul. The ſame Hiſtorian ſeems to inſinuate that he received the Sirname of *Arbiter*, becauſe *Nero* thought none of his voluptuous Pleaſures well fancied, that were not either directed or approved by *Petronius*. This great Favour of *Petronius* could not fail of ſtirring up *Tigellinus* againſt him: That jealous and ſelfiſh Favourite and Miniſter of *Nero*'s reſolved to ruin this growing Rival, which by falſe Accuſations he effected. Nor was *Petronius* admitted to make his Defence. Some of his Slaves were bribed againſt him, and the reſt carried away to Priſon. *Petronius* having (as yet uncertain of his Fate) for ſome time ſtayed at *Cumæ*, (for the Emperor was gone into *Campania*) reſolved to put an End to his Hopes and Fears, by a voluntary Death. He opened his Veins, then cloſed them again; at Intervals converſing with his Friends, not

not like *Seneca*, in a ſolemn Manner on ſerious Subjects, but in a pleaſant and jocoſe Way, they repeating to him Songs and Verſes upon diverting Subjects. In ſhort, he ſlept, he travelled, rewarded ſome and puniſhed others of his Domeſticks; affecting to do all the ordinary Offices of Life, that his Death might not ſeem forced but accidental.

When he made his Will, he did not complement *Nero* or *Tigellinus*, or any of the great Men in Power, as was then the common Practice, with a Legacy; but having deſcribed, under the feigned Characters of ſome vile debauched People, all the infamous Lewdneſs and obſcene Pleaſures of the Prince, ſent the Book ſealed up to *Nero*; but broke the Seal in Pieces, that no Uſe might be made of it afterwards in making Diſcovery of the Author.

The manner of his Death had a ſtrange Mixture of Conſtancy and Extravagance, and perhaps not a little Affectation, however *Tacitus* ſeems to relate it with Applauſe and Admiration. He died the year of *Rome* 817, and of *Chriſt* 65, being as we may ſuppoſe about 50 Years old.

Aruntius Stella, born at *Apona* in the Territory of *Padua*, is celebrated both by *Statius* and *Martial* as a fine Poet. *Statius* in the Dedication of his *Sylvæ* to *Stella* mentions his Elegies, and a Poem called *Aſteris*, but particularly his Poem on the Death of a Favourite Dove, which *Martial* prefers to that celebrated one of *Catullus* on *Lesbia*'s Sparrow.

Stellæ Delicium mei Columba,
Verona hæc audiente, dicam,
Vicit maximi paſſerem Catulli.

Stella was a Perſon of great Quality and Fortune, and bore ſome of the greateſt Offices in *Rome*, having been Prætor and Duumvir, a civil Magiſtrate of great Authority and Dignity among the *Romans*.

Sentius Augur, is commended by *Pliny* in his Epiſtles, as a good Epigrammatic Writer. He was a native of *Rome*, and Cotemporary with him. The ſame

ſame *Pliny* praiſes his Friend *Spurina*, an illuſtrious *Roman*, for his happy Talent for *Lyric* Poetry, as he does *Voconius* for his Elegies and Epigrams, and *Paſſienus* a *Roman* Knight for excelling both in Elegiac and Lyric Poetry; he is alſo much praiſed by *Gellius*.

Saleius Bassus is reckoned by *Quintilian* in the Number of the beſt Epic Poets. He was an intimate Friend of *Lucan*, and grew afterwards much in favour with the Emperor *Veſpaſian*. *Tacitus* and *Pliny* mention him with Honour, and *Juvenal* has taken notice of his Merit and Poverty.

Volcatius Sedigitus, flouriſhed about the Time of the *Veſpaſians*, and is commended by *Pliny* the younger and *Gellius* for his Learning. We have no Account of any other Work of his, than that in which he makes a Judgment of all the Poets, a Fragment of which relating to the Comic Poets is quoted by *Gellius*.

Aulus Serenus a Lyric Poet, is much commended by *Maurus Terentianus*, *Diomedes* the Grammarian and *Martianus Capella*. He is ſaid to have publiſhed ſeveral Poems, ſome of which are cited by *Nonius* the Grammarian, and particularly that called *Ruralia*: He ſeems to have lived ſometime between *Sedigitus* and *Terentianus*.

Some Critics make this Terentianus Cotemporary with *Martial*, and ſuppoſe him to be the Governor of *Syene*, whom that Poet mentions, *L.* 1. *Epig.* 87. He is cited by *Priſcian*, *Servius*, and other Grammarians, among what they call the later Writers. He was old as he informs us in the Preface, when he begun his Poem of Letters, Syllables, Feet and Meaſures, that is, a Proſodia in Verſe: He was an *African*, according to many Critics, or a *Carthaginian* by birth, but I ſhould rather think him a noble *Roman*.

Sulpitia, the Poeteſs, flouriſhed about the ſame time with *Terentianus*. We have but a Fragment of a Satire that ſhe wrote againſt *Domitian*, who publiſhed a Decree for the baniſhment of the Philoſophers from *Rome*. But from the Invocation it ſhould ſeem ſhe

was

was Author of many other Poems, and that ſhe was the firſt *Roman* Lady who had taught her Sex to vie with the *Greeks* in Poetry:

Cætera quin etiam, quot denique millia luſi,
Primaque Romanas docui contendere Graijs,
Et ſalibus variare novis conſtanter omitto.

Her Language is eaſy and elegant, and ſhe ſeems to have had a happy Talent for Satire. She is mentioned by *Martial* and *Sidonius Apollinaris*, and is ſaid to have addreſſed to her Husband who was a *Roman* Knight, a Poem on conjugal Love. She was certainly a Lady of a bright Genius, and the Learned World have reaſon to lament the Loſs of her Works.

MARULLUS, a Writer of *Mimes*, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his fine Genius under *Marcus Antoninus* the Philoſopher, and was remarkable for making his Reflections with ſuch Liberty, that he ſpared no Character of Vice or Folly that he met with in thoſe of the firſt Rank. As a particular Inſtance of this, it is ſaid, That in the following Verſe he expreſly named the Empreſs *Fauſtina*'s Gallant to the whole Audience;

Ille jam tibi dixi Tertullus dicitur.

His Works are all loſt. He had the Character of a very ſtrong and elegant Writer, and is often quoted by *Servius* the *Grammarian*.

We meet with no Poets of any Note in the Interval between *Antoninus Philoſophus* and *Caracalla*, unleſs we take PALLADIUS to have lived in this Interval: He has compoſed a Poem on the Grafting of Trees, which he has executed with ſome Spirit, but we can find no further Account of him.

Q. SERENUS SAMMONICUS was a celebrated Phyſician as well as a Poet, under *Caracalla*, who killed him in a Paſſion one Day as he ſate at Table with him, but upon what Provocation is uncertain. He is ſaid to have publiſhed many Treatiſes and Poems, but all that remains of his now is a Poem on Medicines, and this, by ſome Critics, has been attributed rather to his Son

Sammonicus, who was Præceptor to the younger *Gordian*, and was poſſeſſed of a fine Library which his Father had begun to collect. The Stile of this Poem of *Sammonicus* is low and dull, but the Expreſſions are juſt, and the Language pure,

CALPHURNIUS, a *Bucolic* Poet of *Sicily*, flouriſhed under the Emperors *Carinus* and *Numerianus*. There are ſeven of his Eclogues addreſſed to *Nemeſianus*, a Man of Quality, and his Patron, and a fellow Poet. Some of the Critics have not ſcrupled to give *Calphurnius* the next place to *Virgil* among the Paſtoral Writers; and *Fontenelle*, in his fine Diſcourſe on Paſtoral Poetry, ſeems to join with them.

NEMESIANUS, abovementioned, was likewiſe a Writer of Eclogues, of which there are Four extant, which are not in ſo good a Taſte, being neither ſo well conducted, nor in ſo lovely a Stile as thoſe of *Calphurnius*. But his Poem on hunting gained him more Reputation, though it is not in ſo pure a Stile as that of *Gratian*. Such was the Eſteem of this Poem in the 8th and 9th Centuries, that it was publickly read in the Schools under the Emperor *Charles* the Great, and ſome of his Succeſſors. But I fear this may reaſonably be taken as an Argument of the bad Taſte of the Age, at leaſt as much as of the Excellency of this Poem of *Nemeſianus*.

RUFUS FESTUS AVIENUS flouriſhed under *Theodoſius* the Great, and was partly Cotemporary with *Claudian*. He has made an elegant Tranſlation of the *Phænomena* of *Aratus*, and the *Periegeſis*, or Geographical Deſcription of the World of *Dionyſius*. He alſo turned ſome Pieces of *Livy* into Iambic Verſe, as he did ſome ſelect Stories from *Virgil*. But there is nothing of theſe two laſt extant. We have about Forty Fables of *Æſop* rendered by *Avienus* in Elegiac Verſe, and dedicated to *Theodoſius*. In general the Critics have a favourable Opinion of this Poet's Writings. His Stile is eaſy and ſometimes elegant, and might paſs for the Work of a better Age, had not *Claudian* written about the ſame Time.

P. RUTILIUS

P. RUTILIUS NUMATIANUS GALLUS flouriſhed under *Honorius*. We have nothing of this Poet's extant, but part of his Journey or Itinerary through part of *Italy*, which he is ſaid to have written after the taking of *Rome* by *Alaric* King of the *Goths* in the Year of *Chriſt* 410. From what remains, we may judge it was an elegant and lively Performance, though his Equity and Judgment may be called in queſtion for thoſe malignant Invectives which he makes both againſt the *Jews* and *Chriſtians*.

With this Author expired the Spirit of *Roman* Poetry; for now Barbarity and Ignorance advanced apace, and the few learned, who appeared from time to time for ſome Ages afterwards, conſecrated their Muſe to the Cauſe of Religion, and to propagate and defend the great Truths of *Chriſtianity* againſt the attacks of Infidels, and to the Inſtruction of thoſe ſavage and barbarous Nations, who had not ceaſed for ſome ages to invade the *Roman* Empire, which was at length become their Prey; and who were now eſtabliſhed under their ſeveral Governments in all the parts of the Weſtern Empire, which was now at an End. The whole Period of Time from *Livius Andronicus* the year of *Rome* 514, and before CHRIST 239, to the taking of *Rome* in 410, includes a Period of about 650 Years. Of which, for the conveniency of the young Student, and to aſſiſt his Memory, I have drawn up the following Chronological Table.

FINIS.

Years of *Rome.* *Miſcellaneous Remarks concerning the Poets,* &c.

514 —*Livius Andronicus,* brings his firſt Play on the Stage.
515 —*Ennius* born.
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519 —*Nævius,* publiſhes his firſt Play.
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527 —*Plautus,* born about this time.
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533 *Pacuvius,* the Tragic Poet born.
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541
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543

Years before Christ.

CONSULS.

239 C. Manlius Turrinus, Q. Valerius Falco.

238 T. Sempronius Gracchus, P. Cornelius Falco.
237 L. Cornelius Lentulus, Q. Fluvius Flaccus.
236 C. Licinius Varus, P. Cornelius Lentulus.
235 T. Manlius Torquatus, C. Attilius Bubulcus.
234 L. Poſthumius Albinus, Sp. Carvilius Maximus.
233 Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucoſus, M. Pomponius Matho.
232 M. Æmelius Lepidus. M. Publicius Malleolus.
231 C. Papyrius Maſo, M. Pomponius Matho.
230 M. Æmilius Barbula, M. Junius Pera, II.

229 L. Poſthumius Albinus, Cn Fulvius Centumalus.
228 Q. Fabius Maximus II. S. Carvilius Maximus II.
227 P. Valerius Flaccus, M. Attilius Regulus.
226 L. Apuſtius Fullo, M. Valerius Meſſalla.
225 C. Attilius Regulus, L. Æmilius Papus.
224 T. Manlius Torquatus III. Q. Fulvius Flaccus II.
223 P. Flaminius, P. Furius Philus.
222 M. Claudius Marcellus, Cn. Cornelius Scipio.
221 P. Cornelius Scipio Aſina, M. Minucius Rufus.
220 L. Veturius Philo, C. Lutatius Scævola.

219 M. Livius Salinator, L. Æmilius Paulus.
218 P. Cornelius Scipio Aſina, T. Sempronius Longus.
217 Cn. Servilius Geminus, C. Flaminius II.
216 L. Æmilius Paulus II. C. Terentius Varro.
215 L. Poſthumius Albinus III. Q. Fabius Maximus II. T. Sempronius Gracchus.
214 M. Claudius Marcellus III. Q. Fabius Maximus IV.
213 Q. Fabius Maximus V. Sempronius Gracchus II.
212 Q. Fulvius Flaccus III. Ap. Claudius Pulcher.
211 Cn. Fulvius Centumalus, P. Sulpicius Galba.
210 M. Claudius Marcellus IV. M. Valerius Livinus.

Years of Rome. *Miſcellaneous Remarks concerning the Poets*, &c.

544
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549 —*Nævius* dies. *Scipio* goes into *Africa*.

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554 —*Plautus* flouriſhed at *Rome*, and M. *Acuticus*,
555 a *Comic* Poet, and M. *Plautius*, and *Cn. A-*
556 *quilius*, likewiſe *Comic* Writers.
557
558
559 —*Terence* born.

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564 —*Porcius Licinius* flouriſhes, a *Comic* Poet.
565
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570 —*Plautus* dies. *Scipio Æmilianus* born.
571
572
573

Years before *Christ.*

CONSULS.

209 Q. Fabius Maximus V. Q. Fulvius Flaccus IV.
208 M. Marcellus V. T. Quintus Crispinus.
207 C. Claudius Nero, M. Livius Salinator.
206 L. Veturius Philo, Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
205 P. Cornelius Scipio, P. Licinius Crassus Pont. Maximus.
204 P. Sempronius Tuditanus, M. Cornelius Cethegus.
203 Cn. Servilius Cæpio, C. Servilius Geminus.
202 M. Servilius Geminus, T. Claudius Nero.
201 Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, P. Ælius Pætus.
200 C. Sulpitius Galba, C. Aurelius Cotta.

199 L. Cornelius Lentulus, P. Villius Tappulus.
198 T. Quintius Flaminius, Sex. Ælius Pætus.
197 C. Cornelius Cethegus, Q. Minucius.
196 L. Furius Purpureo, M. Claudius Marcellus.
195 M. Portius Cato, L. Valerius Flaccus.
194 P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus II. T. Sempronius Longus,
193 L. Cornelius Merula, Q. Minucius Thermus.
192 L. Quintius Flaminius, Cn. Domitius Ahenobardus.
191 P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, M. Acilius Glabrio.
190 L. Cornelius Scipio, C. Lelius.

189 M. Fulvius Nobilior, Cn. Manlius Volso.
188 M. Livius Salinator, M. Valerius Messalla.
187 M. Æmilius Lepidus, C. Flaminius Nepos.
186 Sp. Posthumius Albinus, Q. Marcius Philippus.
185 Ap. Claudius Pulcher, M. Sempronius Tuditanus.
184 P. Claudius Pulcher, L. Portius Licinius.
183 Q. Fabius Labeo, M. Claudius Marcellus.
182 L. Æmilius Paulus, Cn. Bælius Pamphilus.
181 P. Cornelius Cethegus, M. Bæbius Pamphilus.
180 A. Posthumus Albinus, C. Calpurnius Piso.

Years of *Rome.* *Miſcellaneous Remarks concerning the Poets*, &c.

574 —*Trebea*, the *Comic* Poet flouriſhes about this
575 time, and *Turpilius*, another *Comic* Poet
576 born.
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583 —*Attius*, the *Tragic* Poet born.
584 —*Ennius* dies.
585 —*Statius Cæcilius* the *Comic* Poet dies.
586
587 —The *Andria* of *Terence* firſt acted.
588 —The *Hecyra* of *Terence* acted.
589
590 —The *Heautontimorumenos*.
591
592 —The *Eunuch* at the beginning, and the *Phormio* at the end of the year.
593 —The *Adelphi*.
594 *Terence* dies.
595
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603—*Attilius*, the Comic Poet, flouriſhed about this Time, when the 3d *Punic* War began.
604 —*Carthage* taken by *Scipio Æmilianus*.
605

L. Manlius

Years before Chriſt.

CONSULS.

179 L. Manlius Acidimus, Q. Fulvius Flaccus.
178 M. Junius Brutus, A. Manlius Volſo.
177 C. Claudius Pulcher, T. Sempronius Gracchus.
176 Q. Petilius Spurinus, Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hiſpalus.
175 M. Æmilius Lepidus II. P. Minucius Scævola.
174 Sp. Poſthumius Albinus, Q. Mucius Scævola.
173 L. Popilius Albinus, M. Popilius Lænas.
172 C. Popilius Lænas, P. Ælius Ligur.
171 P. Licinius Craſſus, C. Caſſius Longinus.
170 Q. Martius Philippus II. Q. Servilius Cæpio.

169 Q. Martius Philippus III. Cn. Servilius Cæpio,
168 L. Æmilius Paulus II. P. Licinius Craſſus.
167 Q. Ælius Pætus, M. Junius Pennus.
166 M. Claudius Marcellus, P. Sulpitius Gallus.
165 Cn. Octavius, T. Manlius Torquatus.
164 A. Manlius Torquatus, Q. Caſſius Longinus.
163 T. Sempronius Gracchus, M. Juventius Talva.
162 P. Scipio Naſica, C. Marcius Figulus.
161 M. Valerius Meſſalla, C. Fannius Strabo.

160 L. Anicius Gallus, M. Cornelius Cethegus.

159 Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, M. Fulvius Nobilior.
158 M. Æmilius Lepidus, C. Popilius Lænas.
157 Sex. Julius Cæſar, L. Aurelius Oreſtes.
156 L. Cornelius Lentulus, C. Martius Figulus II.
155 P. Cornelius Scipio II. M. Claudius Marcellus II.
154 Q. Opimius Nepos, L. Poſthumius Albinus.
153 Q. Fulvius Nobilior, T. Annius Luſcus.
152 M. Claudius Marcellus, L. Valerius Flaccus.
151 L. Licinius Lucullus, A. Poſthumius Albinus.
150 L. Quinctius Flaminius, M. Acilius Balbus.

149 L. Martius Cenſorinus, M. Manlius.
148 Sp. Poſthumius Albinus, L. Calpurnius Piſo.

Years of *Rome.* *Miſcellaneous Remarks concerning the Poets*, &c.

606
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613 —*Pacuvius* being 80 years old, publiſhed his laſt Tragedy. *Attius* the Tragic Poet being
614 now 30, wrote his firſt Play.
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633 —About this Time *Afranius* the Comic Poet flouriſhed.
634
635

P. Cornelius

Years before Chriſt.

CONSULS.

147 P. Cornelius Scipio Æmilianus, C. Livius Druſus.
146 Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, L. Mummius.
145 Q. Fabius Maximus Æmilianus. L. Hoſtilius Mancinus.
144 Ser. Sulpitius Galba, L. Aurelius Cotta.
143 Appius Claudius, Q. Cæcilius Metellus.
142 L. Cæcilius Metellus, Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus.
141 Q. Servilius Cæpio, Q. Pompeïus Rufus.
140 Q. Servilius Cæpio, C. Lœtius.

139 C. Calpurnius, M. Popilius Lœnas.
138 P. Cornelius Scipio Naſica Serapio, D. Junius Brutus.
137 M. Æmilius Lepidus, C. Hoſtilius Mancinus.
136 P. Furius Philus, Sex. Attilius Serranus.
135 Ser. Fulvius Flaccus, Q. Calpurnius Piſo.
134 P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus II. C. Fulvius Flaccus.
133 P. Mucius Scævola, L. Calpurnius Piſo.
132 P. Popilius Lœnas, P. Rupilius Nepos.
131 P. Licinius Craſſus, L. Valerius Flaccus.
130 Ap. Claudius, M. Perpenna.

129 M. Aquilius, C. Sempronius Tuditanus.
128 Cn. Octavius, T. Annius.
127 P. Caſſius Longinus, L. Cornelius Cinna.
126 M. Æmilius Lepidus, L. Aurelius Oreſtes.
125 M. Plautius Hypſæus, M. Fulvius Flaccus.
124 C. Caſſius Longinus, C. Sextius Calvinus.
123 Q. Cæcilius Metellus, T. Quinctius Flaminius.
122 Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, C. Fannius Strabo.
121 Q. Fabius Maximus, L. Opimius Nepos.
120 P. Manlius, C. Papyrius Carbo.

119 L. Cæcilius Metellus, L. Aurelius Cotta.
118 M. Porcius Cato, Q. Martius Rex.

Years of *Rome.* *Miſcellaneous Remarks concerning the Poets, &c.*

636
637 —*Novius*, the Writer of *Attellane* Plays, flouriſh'd about this Time.
638 —*M. Terentius Varro*, the moſt learn'd *Roman*
639 of his Time born.

640
641
642
643 —*Mummius* flouriſhes, a Writer of *Attellane* Plays, and *Pomponius* of *Bologna*, a Poet who
644 wrote in the ſame way.

645
646 —*Cicero* born.
647 —*Varro Atacinus*, an Epic Poet, born about
648 this Time.
649 —*Turpilius*, the Comic Poet dies. *Furius Bibaculus* the *Lyric* Poet born.
650 *Lutatius Catulus*, the Conſul this Year was a
651 good Epigrammatiſt.
652
653 —*C. Titius* flouriſhes. A Tragic Poet and great Orator.

654
655
656
657
658 —*Lucretius* born.
659
660
661
66
662
3
664 — *C. Julius Cæſar Strabo*, Ædile this Year.
665 He was a fine Tragic Poet.

L. Cæcilius

Years before *Christ.*

CONSULS.

117 L. Cæcilius Metellus, Q. Mucius Scævola Augur.
116 C. Licinius Geta, Q. Fabius Maximus.

115 M. Æmilius Scaurus, M. Cæcilius Metellus.
114 M. Acilius Balbus, C. Cato Grandſon of Cato the Cenſor.
113 C. Cæcilius Metellus, Cn. Papyrus Carbo.
112 M. Livius Druſus, L. Calpurnius Piſo.
111 P. Cornelius Scipio Naſica, L. Calpurnius Beſtia.
110 Sp. Poſthumius Albinus, Q. Minucius Rufus.

109 Q. Cæcilius Metellus Numidicus, M. Junius Silanus.
108 Serg. Galba, M. Aurelius Scaurus.
107 L. Caſſius, C. Marius.
106 Q. Servilius Cæpio, C. Attilius Serranus.
105 P. Rutilius Rufus, C. Manilius.
104 C. Marius II. C. Flavius Fimbria.

103 C. Marius III. L. Aurelius Oreſtes.
102 C. Marius IV. Q. Lutatius Catulus.
101 C. Marius V. Manius Aquilius.
100 C. Marius VI. L. Valerius Flaccus.

99 M. Antonius, A Poſthumius Albinus.
98 Q. Cælius Metellus Nepos, T. Didius.
97 Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, C Licinius Craſſus.
96 Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, C. Caſſius Longinus.
95 L. Licinius Craſſus, Q. Mucius Scævola.
94 C. Cælius Calvus, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus.
93 C. Valerius Flaccus, M. Herennius.
92 C. Claudius Pulcher, M. Perpenna.
91 D. Marcius Philippus, Sex. Julius Cæſar.
90 C. Julius Cæſar, P. Rutilius Lupus.

89 L. Porcius Cato, Cn. Pomponius S rabo.
88 L. Cornelius Sulla, Q. Pompeiüs Rufus.

Years of *Rome.* *Miſcellaneous Remarks concerning the Emperors*, &c.

666
667 — *Catulus* dies.
668
669
670

671
672 — *Valerius Cato*, the Elegiac Poet flouriſhes.
673 — *Titus Quinctius Atta*, the Comic Poet dies.

674 — *Bibaculus* flouriſhes.
675
676
677
678
679
680
681

682
683 — *Rabirius* flouriſhes, an excellent Epic Poet.

684 — *Virgil* born.
685
686
687
688 — *Horace* born.
689
690
691
692
693

694 — About this time flouriſhed *Calidius*, an excel-
695 lent Poet, according to the Hiſtorian *Corn.*
696 *Nepos.*

Cn. Octavius,

Years before *Chriſt.*

CONSULS.

87 Cn. Octavius, L. Cornelius Cinna.
86 Cn. Marius VII. L. Cornelius Cinna II.
85 L. Cornelius Cinna III. Cn. Papyrius Carbo.
84 L. Cornelius Cinna IV. Cn. Papyrius Carbo II.
83 L. Cornelius Scipio Aſiaticus, Cn. Norbanus Flaccus.
82 Cn. Papyrius Carbo III. C. Marius, C. Filius.
81 M. Tullus Lecula, Cn. Cornelius Dolabella.
80 L. Cornelius Sulla II. Q. Cæcilius Metellus.

79 P. Servilius Vatia Iſauricus. Ap. Claudius Pulcher.
78 M. Æmilius Lepidus, Q. Lutatius Catulus.
77 D. Junius Brutus, M. Æmilius Lepidus.
76 Cn. Octavius, C. Scribonius.
75 L. Octavius, C. Aurelius Cotta.
74 L. Licinius Lucullus, M. Aurelius Cotta.
73 M. Terentius Varro, C. Caſſius Varus.
72 L. Gellius Poplicola, Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus.
71 Cn. Aufidius Oreſtes, P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura.
70 Cn. Pompeius Magnus, M. Licinius Craſſus.

69 Q. Hortenſius, Q. Cæcilius Metellus Creticus.
68 L. Cæcilius Metellus, Q. Marcius Rex.
67 C. Calpurnius Piſo, M. Acilius Glabrio.
66 M. Æmilius Lepidus, L. Volcatius Tullus.
65 L. Aurelius Cotta, L. Manlius Torquatus.
64 L. Julius Cæſar, C. Marcius Figulus.
63 M. Tullius Cicero, C. Antonius Nepos.
62 D. Junius Silanus, L. Licinius Murena.
61 M. Pupius Piſo, M. Valerius Meſſala.
60 Q. Cæcilius Metellus Celer, L. Africanus.

59 C. Julius Cæſar, M. Calpurnius Bibulus.
58 L. Calpurnius Piſo, A. Gabinius.
57 P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, C. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos.

Years of *Rome.* *Miſcellaneous Remarks concerning the Poets*, &c.

697

698
699
700
701 —*Lucretius* dies.
702
703

704
705 —*Laberius* the Writer of *Mimes* flouriſhes.
706 —*Phædrus* born about this time.

707 —About this time *Propertius* born.
708

709

710 *Laberius* dies. *P. Syrus* flouriſhes. *Tibullus* and *Ovid* born.
711
712
713 —*Virgil* writes his firſt Eclogue.

714 ——*Virgil* writes his 4th Eclogue, *Auguſtus* and *Anthony* reconcil'd. *Horace*'s Journey to *Brunduſium.*
715 ——*Pollio* triumphs over the *Illyrians*, *Virgil* writes the 8th Eclogue.
716 ——The War renewed between *Sextus Pompey*,
717 and *Auguſtus Virgil*'s 10th Eclogue.
718
719
720
721
722

Years before *Chriſt.*

CONSULS.

56 Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, L. Marcius Philippus.
55 Cn. Pompeiüs Magnus II. M. Licinius Craſſus.
54 L. Domitius Ænobarbus, Ap. Claud. Pulcher.
53 Cn. Domitius Calvinus, M. Valerius Meſſala.
52 Cn. Pompeiüs Magnus, he had no Collegue.
51 Ser. Sulpicius Rufus, M. Claudius Marcellus.
50 L. Æmilius Paulus, C. Claudius Marcellus.

49 C. Claudius Marcellus, L. Cornelius Lentulus.
48 C. Julius Cæſar II. P. Servilius Vatia Iſauricus.
47 C. Julius Cæſar Dictator II. Mag. Equitum M. Antonius.
46 C. Julius Cæſar III. M. Æmilius Lepidus.
45 C. Julius Cæſar Dictator IV. Mag. Equitum M. Lepidus.
44 C. Julius Cæſar Dictator V. Mag. Equitum M. Antonius.
43 C. Vibius Panſa A. Hirtius, C. Octavius Cæſar, Q. Pedius.
42 M. Æmilius Lepidus, L. Munatius Plancus.
41 P. Servilius Iſauricus II. L. Antonius.
40 Cn. Domitius Calvinus II. C. Aſinius Pollio.

39 L. Marius Cenſorinus, C. Calviſius Sabinus.

38 Appius Claudius Pulcher, C. Norbanus Flaccus.

37 M. Vipſanius Agrippa, L. Caninius Gallus.
36 L. Gellius Poplicola, C. Cocceiüs Nerva.
35 Sex. Pompeiüs, L. Cornificius.
34 M. Antonius II. L. Scribonius Libo.
33 C. Cæſar Octavianus II. L. Volcatius Tullus.
32 Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus, C. Soſius.
31 C. Cæſar III. M. Meſſala Corvinus—of *Auguſtus* 13th Year.

The

Years of *Rome.*	*Miſcellaneous Remarks concerning the Emperors, &c.*
723	——The Battle of *Actium.*
724	——*Virgil* finiſhes his *Georgics.*
725	——*Auguſtus* triumphs three times, and ſhuts
726	the Temple of *Janus.*
727	——*Octavianus* receives the Title of *Auguſtus* from the Senate.
728	——*Cornelius Gallus* the Favourite of *Auguſtus,*
729	and Governour of *Egypt,* and an *Elegiac* Poet,
730	kills himſelf.
731	——*Marcellus* dies.
732	
733	——*Auguſtus*'s Expedition into *Greece* and *Aſia.*
734	
735	——*Virgil* dies.
736	
737	
738	
739	——*Pedo Albinovanus,* flouriſhed about this Time.
740	
741	
742	——*Tibullus* dies.
743	
744	

AUGUSTUS, after the Battle of *Actium*, and *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*'s Defeat and Death in *Egypt*, became ſole Maſter and Emperor of the *Romans*; from thence therefore I chooſe to reckon by the Years of the Emperors, the Conſuls having now only the Shadow of their former Authority left them.

Years before *Chriſt.*	EMPERORS.	
30	*Auguſtus* Cæſar.	1
29		2
28		3
27		4
26		5
25		6
24		7
23		8
22		9
21		10
20		11
19		12
18		13
17		14
16		15
15		16
14		17
13		18
12		19
11		20
10		21
9		22

Horace

Years of Rome. *Miſcellaneous Remarks concerning th Poets*, &c.

745 ——*Horace* dies.
746
747
748
749
750
751 ——*Tiberius* retires to *Rhodes*.
752

753 ——*Seneca* the Philoſopher and Tragic Poet born.
754 ——*Veliſſus* the Comic Poet flouriſhes, and
755 *Turanius* a Tragic Poet.
756
757
758
759
760 ——*Ovid* baniſhed to *Tomi*.
761 ——*Quintilius Varus* with his Legions cut off
762 in *Germany*. About this Time *Mamilius* had written part of his *Aſtronomics*, which he lived
763 not to finiſh; he died before *Auguſtus*.
764
765
766
767 ——*Ovid* dies.
768
769
770
771
772

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774
775
776

Auguſtus

EMPERORS.

Years before *Christ.*			
8	—— *Augustus.*	23	
7		24	
6		25	
5		26	
4		27	
3		28	
2		29	
1		30	
Years after *Christ.*			
1		31	
2		32	
3		33	
4		34	
5		35	
6		36	
7		37	
8		38	
9		39	
10		40	
11		41	
12		42	
13	—*Augustus* dies.	43	—*Tiberius* succeeds.
14	—*Tiberius.*	2	
15		3	
16		4	
17		5	
18		6	
19		7	
20		8	
21		9	
22		10	
23		11	
24		12	

Pomponius

Years of *Rome.* *Miſcellaneous Remarks concerning the Poets*, &c.

777
778
779
780
781
782 —*Pomponius Secundus* the Tragic Poet flouriſhes.
783 —*Phædrus* dies about this Time.
784
785
786 —*Silius Italicus* born about this Time.
787 —*Perſius* born.
788
789 —*Lucan* born. *Saleius Baſſus* born abo
790 the ſame Time.
791
792
793 —*Statius* born about this Time.
794 —*Seneca* baniſhed to *Corſica*.
795
796
797 —*Juvenal* born.
798
799
800 —*Martial* born.
801
802 —*Seneca* recalled from Baniſhment.
803
804
805
806
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Tiberius

Years after *Christ.*

EMPERORS.

25		13
26		14
27		15
28		16
29		17
30		18
31		19
32		20
33		21
34		22
35	—*Tiberius* dies.	23
36	—*Caligula.*	1
37		2
38		3
39	—*Caligula* dies.	4
40	—*Claudius.*	1
41		2
42		3
43		4
44		5
45		6
46		7
47		8
48		9
49		10
50		11
51		12
52		13
53		14
54	—*Nero.*	1
55		2
56		3
57		4
58		5

Sallus

Years of *Rome.* *Miſcellaneous Remarks on the Roman Poets*, &c.

811
812 ——*Sallus Baſſus* flouriſhes.

813
814
815
816 *Lucan* and *Seneca* die by *Nero*'s Order, and *Perſius* the *Satiriſt* dies about this Time.
817 ——*Petronius Arbiter* dies.
818
819 ——This Year *Silius Italicus* was Conſul.
820
821
822 ——*Martial* comes to *Rome*.

823
824
825 —*Valerius Flaccus* flouriſhed about this time.
826
827
828 —*Volcatius Sedigitus* flouriſhes.
829
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832

833 —*Aulus Serenus* flouriſhes.
834
835
836
837
838 —*Stella* flouriſhes.
839
840 —*Maurus Terentianus*.
841
842 —*Sulpitia* the Poeteſs.

Nero

Years after *Chriſt.*	EMPERORS.	
59		6
60		7
61		8
62		9
63		10
64		11
65		12
66		13
67	—*Nero* dies.	14 *Galba* ſucceeds. (*Vitell.*
68	—*Galba* dies.	1 *Otho* ſucceeds and then
69	—*Vitellius* dies.	1 *Veſpaſian* ſucceeds.
70	—*Veſpaſian.*	1
71		2
72		3
73		4
74		5
75		6
76		7
77		8
78		9
79	—*Veſpaſian* dies.	10 *Titus* his Son ſucceeds.
80	—*Titus.*	1
81		2 (ſucceeds.
82	—*Titus* dies.	3 *Domitian* his Brother
83	—*Domitian.*	2
84		3
85		4
86		5
87		6
88		7
89		8
90		9

Juvenal

Years of *Rome.* *Miſcellaneous Remarks concerning the Poets*, &c.

843
844
845 —*Juvenal* publiſhed his Satire for which he was
846 baniſhed into *Ægypt* by *Domitian.*
847
848
849 —*Juvenal* returns to *Rome.*
850
851
852

853
854 —About this time *Statius* dies, and *Silius Ita-*
855 *licus.*
856 —*Martial* retires to his native City *Bilbilis* in
857 *Spain.*
858
859
860
861 —About this time *Martial* dies.
862

863 —*Voconius* and *Paſſienus* flouriſh.
864
865
866
867
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869
870
871 —*Juvenal* writes his 13th Satire.
872

873
874
875
876

Domitian

EMPERORS.

Years after *Christ.*		
91		10
92		11
93		12
94		13
95		14
96	—*Domitian* dies.	15
97	—*Nerva.*	1
98	*Nerva* dies.	2 *Trajan* succeeds.
99	*Trajan.*	2
100		3
101		4
102		5
103		6
104		7
105		8
106		9
107		10
108		11
109		12
110		13
111		14
112		15
113		16
114		17
115		18
116		19
117	—*Trajan* dies.	20 —*Adrian* succeeds.
118	—*Adrian.*	2
119		3
120		4
121		5
122		6
123		7
124		8

Juvenal

Years of *Rome.* *Miſcellaneous Remarks concerning the Poets*, &c.

877
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879 —*Juvenal* dies.
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902 —*Palladius* flouriſhes about this time.

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Adrian

Years after *Christ.*	EMPERORS.	
125	9	
126	10	
127	11	
128	12	
129	13	
130	14	
131	15	
132	16	
133	17	
134	18	
135	19	
136	20	
137 —*Adrian* dies.	21	*Antoninus Pius* succeeds.
138 —*Antoninus Pius.*	1	
139	2	
140	3	
141	4	
142	5	
143	6	
144	7	
145	8	
146	9	
147	10	
148	11	
149	12	
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152	15	
153	16	
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155	18	
156	19	
157	20	
158	21	

Years of *Rome.*

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922 —*Marullus* the Writer of *Mimes* flouriſhes.
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Antoninus

Years after *Christ.*	EMPERORS.		
159	—*Antoninus Pius* dies.	22	*Marcus* succeeds.
160	—*Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Philosophus.*	1	
161		2	
162		3	
163		4	
164		5	
165		6	
166		7	
167		8	
168		9	
169		10	
170		11	
171		12	
172		13	
173		14	
174		15	
175		16	
176		17	
177		18	
178		19	
179	—*Marcus Aurelius* dies	20	*Commodus* succeeds.
180	—*Commodus* the Son of *M. Aurelius.*	1	
181		2	
182		3	
183		4	
184		5	
185		6	
186		7	
187		8	
188		9	
189		10	
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Years of *Rome.* *Miscellaneous Remarks concerning the Emperors,* &c.

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964 —2. *Serenus Sammonicus.*
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Commodus

Years after *Christ.*	EMPERORS.		
192	——*Commodus* dies.	13	
193			*Pertinax* reigned 87
194	——*Severus.*	1	Days. *Didius Julianus*
195		2	succeeded, and reign'd
196		3	66 Days, and *Severus*
197		4	succeeded.
198		5	
199		6	
200		7	
201		8	
202		9	
203		10	
204		11	
205		12	
206		13	
207		14	
208		15	
209		16	
210		17	
211	——*Severus* dies.	18	*Caracalla* succeeds with
212	—— *Caracalla* his	1	his Brother, whom he
213	Son.	2	kills in his Mother's
214		3	Arms.
215		4	
216		5	
217		6	
218	——*Caracalla* dies.	7	*Heliogabalus* succeeds.
219	——*Heliogabalus.*	2	
220		3	
221		4	
222	——*Heliogabalus* dies.	5	*Alexander Severus* suc-
223	—*Alexander Severus.*	1	ceeds.
224		2	
225		3	

Years of *Rome.*

Miſcellaneous Remarks concerning the Poets, &c.

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Alexander

Years after *Christ.*	EMPERORS.	
226		4
227		5
228		6
229		7
230		8
231		9
232		10
233		11
234		12
235	——*Alexander* dies.	13—*Maximin* ſucceeds.
236	——*Maximin.*	2
237		3
238	——*Maximin* dies.	4—*Gordian* the younger
239	——*Gordian.*	2 ſucceeds in conjunc-
240	——*Gordian* alone.	3 tion with *Balbinus* and *Pupienus.*
241		4
242		5
243	—*Gordian* dies.	6—*Philippus Arabs* ſuc-
244	*Philippus.*	2 ceeds.
245		3
246		4
247		5
248	—*Philippus* dies.	6
249	—*Decius.*	1
250	—*Decius* dies.	2—*Gallus* ſucceeds.
251	—*Gallus.*	1—*Æmilianus* ſucceeds,
252	—*Gallus* dies.	2 and ſoon after him *Va-*
253	—*Valerianus.*	1 *lerianus*, who aſſociates his Son *Gallienus.*
254	—*Gallienus.*	2—The 30 Tyrants almoſt
255		3 diſmember the *Roman*
256		4 Empire at this time.
257		5
258		6

Years of *Rome*.

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1035 —*Calpurnius* and *Nemesianus* flouriſh about this
1036 time.
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Gallienus

Years after Christ.

EMPERORS.

259		7
260		8
261		9
262		10
263		11
264		12
265		13
266		14
267		15
268		16
269	—*Gallienus* dies.	17 —*Claudius* succeeds.
270	—*Claudius*.	
271	—*Claudius* dies.	3 —*Aurelian* succeeds.
272	—*Aurelian*.	2
273		3
274		4
275	—*Aurelian* dies.	5 —*Tacitus* succeeds.
276	—*Tacitus* dies.	2 —*Florianus* his Brother
277	—*Probus*.	1 succeeds and dies.
278		2
279		3
280		4
281		5
282		6
283	—*Probus* dies.	7 —*Carus* succeeds and
284	—*Carus*.	2 associates his sons
285	—*Diocleſian*.	1 *Carinus* and *Numeri-*
286		2 *anus*, who associates
287		3 *Maximian* next Year.
288		4
289		5
290		6
291		7

Years of *Rome.* *Miſcellaneous Remarks concerning the Poets*, &c.

1044
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1064—*Conſtantine* takes *Rome*, and defeats the Tyrant
1065 *Maxentius*.
1066
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1068
1069
1070
1071
1072—*Auſonius* born.

1073
1074
1075

Years after *Christ.*	EMPERORS.	
292	8	
293	9	
294	10	
295	11	
296	12	
297	13	
298	14	
299	15	
300	16	
301	17	
302	18	
303	19	
304	20	
305 —— *Diocleſian* and *Maximian* renounce the Empire.	21 —— *Conſtantius* and *Galerius* declared Emperors; *Conſtantius* dying, his Son *Conſtantine* ſucceeds him.	
306 —— *Conſtantine* the	2	
307 Great.	3	
308	4	
309	5	
310		
311	6	
312	7	
313	8	
314	9	
315	10	
316	11	
317	12	
318	13	
319	14	
320	15	
321	16	
322	17	
323	18	

Years of *Rome.* *Miſcellaneous Remarks concerning the Poets,* &c.

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1103
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1108

Conſtan-

Years after *Christ.*

EMPERORS.

324	—*Constantine* sole Em-	19	by the Death of *Galerius.*
325	peror	20	
326		21	
327		22	
328		23	
329		24	
330		25	
331		26	
332		27	
333		28	
334		29	
335		30	
336		31	
337		32	
338	—*Constantine* the Great	33	his Sons *Constantine,*
	dies.		*Constans* and *Constantius* divide the Empire.
339	—*Constantius.*	2	
340		3	
341	——*Constantine* the	4	
342	younger kill'd.	5	
343		6	
344		7	
345		8	
346		9	
347		10	
348		11	
349		12	
350		13	
351		14	
352		15	
353	——*Constantius* sole	16	
354	Emperor.	17	
355		18	
356.		19	

Claudian

Years of *Rome.* *Miſcellaneous Remarks concerning the Poets*, &c.

1109
1110
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1113
1114
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1116
1117 —— *Claudian* born.
1118
1119
1120
1121
1122

1123
1124
1125
1126
1127
1128 —— *Auſonius* made Præfect of *Gaul.*
1129
1130
1131 —— *Rufus Feſtus Avienus* flouriſhes.
1132

1133 —— *Auſonius* Conſul this Year.
1134
1135

1136
1137
1138
1139 — *Auſonius* dies about this time.
1140
1141

Conſtantius

Years after *Christ.*

EMPERORS.

357		20
358		21
359		22
360		23
361	—*Constantius* dies.	24—*Julian* the Apostate
362	—*Julian*.	2 succeeds.
363	—*Julian* dies.	3—*Jovian* succeeds.
364	—*Jovian* dies.	1—*Valentinian* succeeds,
365	—*Valentinian*.	2 and associates his
366		3 Brother *Valens*, to
367		4 whom he gives the
368		5 Government of the
369		6 Eastern Empire.
370		7
371		8
372		9
373		10
374		11
375	—*Valentinian* dies.	12——*Gratian* and *Va-*
376	—*Gratian* and *Valen-*	2 *lentinian* the IId,
377	*tinian*.	3 whom he had before
378		4 associated, succeed.
379	—*Theodosius* the Great	5
380	associated by *Gratian*,	6
	who yields him the	
381	East.	7
382		8
383	——*Gratian* killed by	9
	Maximus.	
384	—*Valentinian* alone.	10
385		11
386		12
387		13
388		14
389		15

P. Rutilius

Years of *Rome.* *Miſcellaneous Remarks concerning the Poets*, &c.

1142

1143
1144

1145

1146

1147—*P. Rutilius Numatianus*——*Claudian* comes firſt to *Rome* about 30 Years of Age.

1148
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N. B. I have not inſiſted on all the particular Events relating to each Poet, becauſe that would have ſwell'd this TABLE to an immoderate Size, and becauſe many remarkable Events often fell out the ſame Year, of which ſeveral Poets that were Cotemporary might take Notice: So that I might have fill'd a Page ſometimes with the Events of one Year. And the Reader will find this partly done to his Hand in the *Chronologia Virgiliana, Horatiana*, &c. *Valentinian*

Years after *Chriſt.*	EMPERORS.
390	16
391	17
392—*Valentinian* killed by *Arbogaſtus.*	18
393—*Theodoſius* alone, in both Eaſtern and Weſtern Empires.	
394—*Eugenius* proclaim'd Emperor and acknowledged by *Theodoſius*, but both dying ſoon after, *Honorius* ſucceeds.	
395 ——*Honorius.*	2
396	3
397	4
398	5
399	6
400	7
401	8
402	9
403	10
404	11
405	12
406	13
407	14
408	15
409	16
410—*Rome* taken by *Alaric*, King of the *Goths.*	17

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11 FE 75
MUSEUM

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